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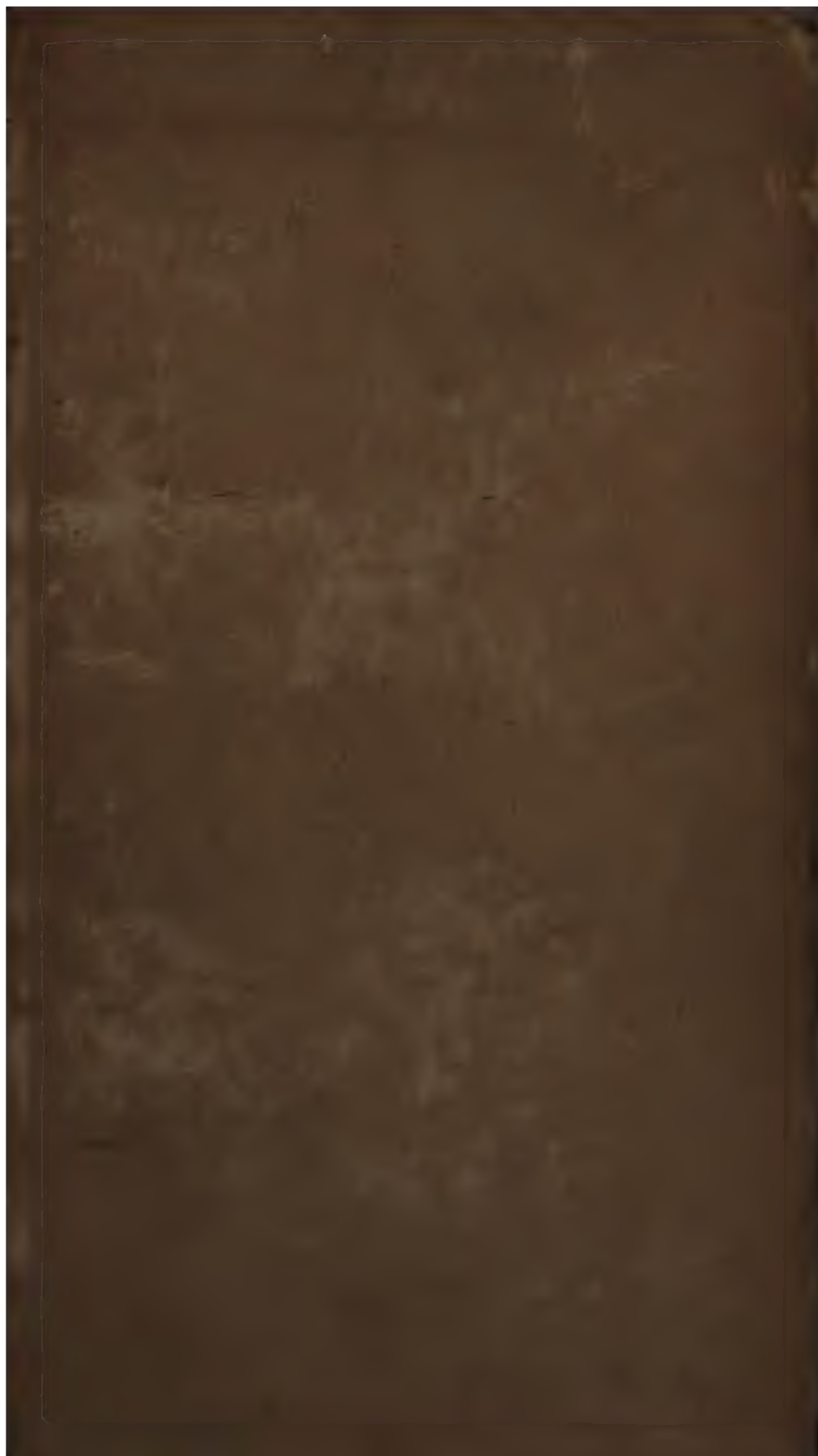
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View of the city of New York from the Battery

View of the city of New York from the Battery

View of the city of New York from the Battery

View of the city of New York from the Battery

View of the city of New York from the Battery

View of the city of New York from the Battery

View of the city of New York from the Battery



A
HISTORY
OF
HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
FROM
ITS FOUNDATION, IN THE YEAR 1636,
TO
THE PERIOD OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY THE LATE BENJAMIN PEIRCE,

LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY.



ME COMMUNE BONUM, PRÆSENTIM GLORIA CHRISTI,
IMPULIT, ET CARE POSTERITATIS AMOR.

Wilson. Eleg. in Joh. Harvardum.

CAMBRIDGE:
BROWN, SHATTUCK, AND COMPANY,
BOOKSELLERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1833.

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TO
THE HONORABLE PAINE WINGATE,
THE ELDEST SURVIVING GRADUATE,
AND
TO THE OTHER SONS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
THIS WORK IS,
AT THE REQUEST OF THE AUTHOR'S FAMILY,
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY THE EDITOR.

P R E F A C E .

A PARTICULAR history of Harvard University, the most ancient Seminary of Learning in this country, has long been a desideratum in our literature. Occasional notices of this Institution, it is true, frequently occur in the works of American authors ; but no one has hitherto expressly undertaken the task of writing its history.

The late respected author of the present work always took a deep interest in the University ; and, after his appointment to the office which placed the Library under his care, his time and thoughts were intently devoted to the promotion of its welfare. Accustomed to reflect much, and to weigh with exactness the current opinions of the age, he had formed a higher estimate of the incalculable importance of the University to the country at large, than is perceived by those casual observers, who too generally estimate the value of public institutions and public measures by their momentary and palpable effects, and not by those of a more lasting but less obvious character. His attachment to the place of his instruction was strengthened at once by a deep conviction of its value to the whole nation, and an ardent sentiment of gratitude to the benevolent founders of an Institution, to which he felt himself indebted for his own education.

One of his first objects was, to bring before the public a knowledge of the treasures contained in the University Library, by making a most accurate and useful Catalogue of the books ; before which publication the great value of this collection was hardly known beyond its immediate vicinity. The preparation of that laborious work naturally brought under his notice various facts in relation to the University ; and he employed his intervals of leisure in collecting materials for a general history of it.

After having collected materials for the present volume, and while engaged in a more careful examination of the details of his work, it pleased Providence, that he should suddenly be arrested in his labors by that disease, which had been exasperated by those very labors, and which soon terminated in removing him from his afflicted family and friends.

As soon as was practicable, after his death, a partial examination was made of his papers ; and it was found that his History of the University had been left in so advanced a state, that it was deemed by his surviving friends to be of public utility, as well as an act of justice to his memory, that all the papers and memorandums relative to that work, should be placed in the hands of some person, who should perform such editorial duty as might be necessary to prepare the work for publication. The partiality of those friends committed this delicate trust to the present editor ; whose deference to the judgment of others, as well as regard for the memory of a much valued friend and his bereaved family, forbade declining a request made under the peculiar circumstances accompanying it, whatever opinion the editor might have entertained of his own inability and want of leisure to discharge the trust in a manner, that should be satisfactory to the public, as well as to those friends by whom it had been committed to him.

The present volume, which was all that the author had originally intended to publish, comprises an account of the University from its foundation, in 1636, to the close of the time of President Holyoke in 1769, being the last important epoch preceding the American Revolution. This early portion of the history, there is reason to believe, cost the author much labor ; and it will be the more valuable, as his known habits of accuracy in such investigations will make it an authority, upon which reliance may be placed by succeeding writers.

If the author had lived, he would, perhaps, at some future time have brought his work down to a later period than is included in the present volume, which embraces the first century and a half of the University history. But the work now offered to the public is, nevertheless, to be regarded as the extent of his original design ; and it comprehends a period, which from its antiquity

and other causes affords more materials than any other to gratify the natural desire felt by all men, to look back to the illustrious deeds of their fathers. It may be added, that the materials of the present work are not merely such as may be found in books already published; on the contrary, many of them, and some which are of the highest interest to the sons of Harvard, have been obtained from original sources,—such as manuscript notices, detached memorandums, diaries of deceased persons educated at the University, and personal information communicated by aged individuals recently or still living; among whom, the author was particularly indebted to the late Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, a graduate of the year 1746, and the Honorable Paine Wingate, of Stratham, New Hampshire, a member of the class of the year 1759, and now the venerable senior of the whole body of surviving graduates. Many interesting circumstances relative to academic usages and manners in ancient days were communicated to the author by those venerable men, and will be found in various parts of the History, and the Correspondence subjoined to it.

At the time when the manuscript of the author was first examined, it appeared on a cursory view, as before intimated, to be in such a state as to require but little editorial aid in preparing it for the press. Upon a nearer examination, however, it was found that the author had, in numerous instances, merely made temporary references to authorities, and had not definitively come to a decision as to the use intended to be made of them, or what portions of his materials were to be incorporated into the narrative itself, and what were to be reserved for the Appendix and Notes. In such cases the Editor has, during the limited time allowed him, decided in the best manner he could, though not always upon grounds so sure as to render it certain in all cases that he has determined according to the author's views.

It was evidently the author's intention to make his work a repository of the most important and authentic information relative to the University; and, that it might be rendered permanently useful as a book of reference and authority, he had noted down among the articles for his Appendix and Notes, the College Laws, the Statutes of the different Professorships, and much other matter of that description, which constitutes a necessary part of a work

of this kind, and will be sought after by every reader who is solicitous to obtain an accurate knowledge of facts, though it will be esteemed of little value by those who read a history as they would a novel, not for the acquisition of knowledge, but merely for the entertainment of an idle hour.

The simple and unadorned style of the narrative may demand a passing remark. If the author had lived to publish the work himself, it is to be presumed that his correct judgment and habitual care in composition, might have suggested further revision in a few instances, where, for want of time or some other cause, he appears not to have made his final corrections. From this remark, however, it must not be inferred, that the diction would have been more ornamented and rhetorical than it now appears. Mr. Peirce was a diligent reader and admirer of the English classics, Addison, Pope, Dryden, Swift, and their contemporaries, and had formed his own style, upon the severest models of that school, tinged, perhaps, in a slight degree with the plainness of still older writers. His style is, accordingly, unambitious, simple and pure English ; with too little rhetorical embellishment to produce *effect*, as it is called, upon the age in which it is written, yet possessing the essential requisites of a style which will confer a more permanent value, so far as that may depend upon style alone. He was scrupulously careful in avoiding expressions, which had no other merit than novelty or the caprice of the day to recommend them ; thus conforming to the sound opinion of an eminent English classic, — himself perhaps the first writer of the age, if estimated by the united excellences of his style and matter, — who, in adverting to the affectations and peculiarities of certain English authors most justly observes, — “ Such examples should warn a writer desiring to be lastingly read, of the danger which attends new words, or very new acceptations of those which are established, or even of attempts to revive those which are altogether superannuated. They show in the clearest light that the learned and the vulgar parts of language, being those which are most liable to change, are unfit materials for a durable style ; and they teach us to look to those words which form the far larger portion of ancient as well as of modern language, that ‘ well of English undefiled ’ which has been happily resorted to

from More to Cowper, as being proved by the unimpeachable evidence of that long usage to fit the rest of our speech more perfectly, and to flow more easily, clearly, and sweetly in our compositions. ” *

Notwithstanding the disadvantageous circumstances under which this, like most posthumous works, is offered to the public, — which none can more sincerely lament than the editor, especially in such parts as a more competent friend might have supplied, — yet it is believed, that every son of Harvard will be ever grateful to the estimable author for having brought together so much interesting and valuable information, and presented them with an unaffected candor and uncompromising honesty and independence, corresponding to the simplicity and purity of that Truth, which was his sole aim, and without which no narration, however skillfully constructed, or however finished in its style, can deserve the noble, but often abused name of History.

The Editor cannot dismiss this work without making his acknowledgments to his friend, Mr. C. Folsom, for numerous important services, which his regard for the Author, as well as the Editor, prompted him to render in relation to it.

J. PICKERING.

At the period of Mr. Peirce's death, a short obituary notice of him was published in the newspapers of the day ; and at the request of his friends, the Editor here subjoins it as it originally appeared.

“ MR. PEIRCE was a native of Salem in this State. He graduated at Harvard University in the year 1801.— While an undergraduate he was eminently distinguished among his fellow-students for his zealous and untiring pursuit of knowledge, and for those habits of literary labor which have been so conspicuous during his late connexion with that Institution. It is a satisfactory proof of the rank which he held as a scholar, in the judgment of his instructors, that he graduated with the highest honors of his class.

* Sir James Mackintosh's Life of Sir Thomas More, in Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, p. 46, London Edit.

“ His own inclination would, perhaps, have led him to pursue one of the learned professions ; but circumstances, which too often direct our course without control, induced him to embark in commercial business with his much respected father, one of the principal merchants of Salem ; and he continued in that occupation for many years.

“ During this part of his life he received, at different times, the most gratifying proofs of the confidence which his fellow-citizens reposed in him, by being elected, at an earlier age than usual, a Senator for the county of Essex in our State Legislature (in 1811), and afterwards, for several years, a Representative of his native town. He was not a professed debater in that public body ; but his sound judgment and solidity of principle had their just influence on those, who were his friends and associates in the public measures of that day.

“ Through his whole life he was uniformly distinguished for that first of all the social virtues — integrity ; — and never was a man, in his various relations to society and the individuals around him, more steadily actuated by strict moral rectitude. In the stormy periods of our politics, and particularly on the complicated and delicate question of the rights and duties of foreign nations towards us, this inflexibility of principle not unfrequently exposed him to sharp opposition from those politicians, who, ‘ in the corrupted currents of this world ’ are swayed by other considerations than the mere right and wrong of a given case. But he never shrunk from the expression of his well-matured opinions on the various trying questions of the day ; opinions, which he always maintained with the sound logic of a well-disciplined and investigating mind, and the correctness of which was justified by events.

“ His love of letters continued through life ; and, notwithstanding the avocations of business, few persons in this country have made themselves so familiar as he was with the classical authors in English literature. This consideration, doubtless, had its weight with the members of the Corporation, when they selected him, in 1826, to fill the honorable and responsible office of Librarian to the University, — an office of much greater importance in its various relations than is generally supposed ; and which, in all countries where science and literature are respected, is not limited to

the mere duty of keeping an account of the delivery and return of books, but is reserved for men of talents and learning, who are capable of using a library for the benefit of the community, while they personally give distinction and character to the establishment with which they are connected, — for such men as Porson in London, Hase in Paris, and Heyne in Göttingen.

“ With how much ability and fidelity he discharged the duties of that station, has long been well known to the governors of the University; and the public, generally, have now also the means of forming some judgment, in his ample and invaluable *Catalogue of the University Library*, lately published in four octavo volumes, the last of which was just completed and was in a course of distribution, while he was confined to his house by that malady which so unexpectedly proved fatal to him. The value of this laborious and accurate work can be estimated by those only, who know how to appreciate the Herculean labor of executing it. Various efforts had been made, by the government of the College, to obtain a good catalogue before the Library had attained to its present increased size; and materials had been in part collected for that purpose by different persons. But those materials, valuable as they would have been in the hands of the individuals, who had made the collections each with a view to his own plan and conception of such a work, were but partially used by Mr. Peirce, as we have understood, in the construction of his Catalogue.

“ In addition to this important publication, Mr. Peirce had begun, and brought to a considerable degree of forwardness, another work, in which every son of Harvard in particular, will take a most lively interest, — a *History of the University*, from its foundation; with notices of its distinguished sons, who have been ornaments to our country as well as to the place of their education. A great body of new and highly interesting matter will be found in the collections made by Mr. Peirce with a view to this History; and it is to be hoped, that measures will be taken, as early as circumstances permit, for the completion and publication of this work, — in itself, the most appropriate monument to the memory of a devoted son of our Alma Mater, and one whose deep interest in her welfare, and intense application to the duties of his office, have contributed to hasten the catastrophe we now lament.

“But we are admonished to refrain from indulging ourselves in the feelings, which this event naturally calls forth. His associates in office at the University, and all others who knew the real worth of this valuable public officer and excellent man, feel and lament the loss sustained in his death. But by no one can this be more deeply felt than by him, who, in justice to departed worth and as a solace to his own feelings, has attempted this faint memorial of the character of a highly valued and cherished friend.

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit :
Nulli flebilior quam mihi —

“ *Cambridge, July 30, 1831.*”

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Ascham Building

1870

1870

VUE OF THE ASCHAM BUILDING, BELONGING TO HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE first settlers of New England were men who understood and felt the importance of education. While as a body they were well instructed, many individuals among them came stored with the various learning of the English Universities. From those renowned institutions, even if nonconformity to the established church would not have been an exclusion, their distance would, generally speaking, have formed an insuperable bar to the enjoyment of any direct benefit. Scarcely, therefore, had the Pilgrim fathers of New England subdued a few spots in the wilderness, where they had sought shelter from persecution, when their solicitude to transmit to future generations the benefits of learning, impelled them, while yet struggling with many and great difficulties, to enter upon the work of providing here for such an education in the liberal arts and sciences, as was to be obtained in Europe; justly regarding an establishment for that purpose as an essential part of the fabric of civil and religious order, which they were employed in constructing, and which, with some modification, now happily stands so noble a monument of their energy of character, of their love of well-regulated liberty, of their wisdom, virtue, and piety.

To minds less enlightened, less impressed with the value of liberal studies, and less resolved on achieving whatever duty commanded, such a project would have presented itself in vain; but from the fathers of New England it was precisely the measure which was to have been expected; it flowed from their principles and character, as an effect from its legitimate cause; and, while the qualities of a stream are a test of the nature of its source, this venerable institution must be regarded as a memorial of the wisdom and virtue of its pious founders.

Their reliance, however, was not solely on their own resources. With a pious trust in the fostering care of Providence, they looked abroad for assistance; and seem to have confidently expected it from some of the many learned and able individuals in England, who sympathized with them in their religious sentiments, or were desirous of propagating Christianity among the aborigines of America.¹

In the autumn of 1636, only six years from the first settlement of Boston, the General Court voted £400, equal to a year's rate of the whole colony,² towards the erection of a public "school or college"; of which £200 was to be paid the next year, and £200, when the work was finished. An order was passed, the year following, that the college should be at Newtown, "a place very pleasant and accommodate," and "then under the orthodox and soul-flourishing ministry of Mr. Thomas Shephard";³ and a most respectable committee of twelve of the principal magistrates and ministers of the colony, namely, Governor Winthrop,

¹ Wonder-Working Providence, p. 164; New England's First Fruits, in Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 246, First Series. — See Notes A, B, and H, at the end of this History.

² Winthrop's Hist. of N. England, by Savage, Vol. II. pp. 87, 88, note.

³ See Notes A and B.

Deputy-Governor Dudley, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Humphry, Mr. Herlackenden, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Wells, Mr. Shepherd, Mr. Peters, was appointed to carry it into effect.¹ In May, 1638, the name of Newtown was changed for that of Cambridge, from the place in the parent country, where many of the principal men of the colony had received their education; and in March, 1639, it was ordered that the College should be called *Harvard* College, in honor of its great benefactor, the Rev. John Harvard.

In the year 1638 the regular course of academic studies seems to have commenced. Historians fix on this period as the date of the foundation of the College; and degrees were conferred in four years afterwards.

The Rev. John Harvard “was educated at Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge, in England; and, having received the degree of Master of Arts, was settled as a minister in that country. He came over to America, as is supposed, in 1637, having been admitted a freeman of the colony, on the 2d of November in that year. After his arrival in this country, he preached for a short time at Charlestown, but was laboring under consumption, and died in 1638, on the 14th of September, corresponding in the new style to the 26th of September. By his will, ‘which was probably nuncupative, as it is nowhere recorded,’ he left £779. 17s. 2d., being one half of his estate, towards the erection of a College.”² To this bequest, which was a large sum in that “day of small things,” he

¹ Court Rec. Book I. p. 213.

² Everett's Address at the Erection of a Monument to John Harvard, and Appendix, 1828; and Winthrop's Hist. of N. England, by Savage, Vol. II. p. 88, note.

added all his library,¹ consisting of three hundred and twenty volumes. From some lines in a Latin elegy to the memory of Harvard, written by John Wilson, "it might be inferred as probable, that he left a widow and some other heir, who was not his son. The few facts contained in this brief notice, are all which our histories have preserved to us in relation to this ever honored name."²

The first person who had charge of the institution, was Nathaniel Eaton. He was appointed in 1637; and was intrusted, not only with the education of the students, but with the care of managing the donations and erecting buildings for the College. In 1639, the General Court granted him 500 acres of land, on condition of his continuing his employment for life. He was undoubtedly qualified for the office by his talents and learning; but in other respects he proved himself exceedingly unfit for it. In the same year the grant of land was made to him, he was accused of ill-treating the students, of giving them bad and scanty diet, and exercising inhuman severities towards them; but particularly, of beating his usher, Nathaniel Briscoe, and that, in a most barbarous manner. His conduct, in a word, was so tyrannical and outrageous, that the Court dismissed him from his office, fined him 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.), and ordered him to pay £30 to Briscoe. He was then excommunicated by the Church at Cambridge. Soon afterwards he escaped from the colony, went to Virginia, and thence to England, where he lived privately till the restoration of Charles the Second.³ He then conformed to the church of

¹ New England's First Fruits, p. 242; Mather's Magnalia.

² See Notes A and C.

³ Winthrop's Hist. of N. England, by Savage, Vol. I. pp. 309-313; Magnalia, Book IV. pp. 126, 127.

England, obtained a living, and became a violent persecutor of the Nonconformists. He was at length committed to prison for debt, and there ended his days.

During this early period the interest generally taken in the College corresponded to its importance. The hopes of its pious founders, for the maintenance of those institutions and advantages which they had come to this wilderness to enjoy, and which, above all things, they were desirous of transmitting to posterity, were embarked in this enterprise. They, accordingly, prosecuted it with great vigor and perseverance. Various donations, in addition to those already mentioned, were made to it from time to time by different individuals in this and the other New-England colonies ;¹ and in 1640 the General Court enriched it by a grant of the revenue of the ferry between Charlestown and Boston ;² thus, probably, laying the first foundation of that species of property, which was in process of time to enable it to defray its expenses from its own resources.³

A grammar school, in which students were fitted for the College, was established at a very early period

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*.

² In a letter from President Dunster to Governor Winthrop in 1643, there is this passage : " I desire to know whether the country will allow me any personal interest in any of the said goods [lately arrived for the College], for and in consideration of the abatements that I have suffered, from £60 to £50, from £50 to £45, from £45 to £30, which is now my rent from the ferry." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.* X. 187, 188, Second Series. " It is now let," says Douglass, " at £600, New-England currency, or £60 sterling, per annum." — *Summary*, Vol. I. p. 543, published in 1749.

³ " Part of the land on which the Colledges and the President's house now stand, containing two acres and two thirds of an acre, were granted by the town of Cambridge." — *The University Book of Donations*, No. I.

in Cambridge ; “it seems to have been nearly coëval with the town, and to have been an object of great care and attention.”¹

The infancy of our University was also distinguished by an interesting event connected with it, — the introduction of the art of printing into this part of the world. The first printing-press established north of Mexico, and which, for many years continued to be the only one in British America, was at Cambridge, and was an appendage of Harvard College.² The person who had the merit and honor of conferring this benefit upon the country, was the Rev. Jesse or Joseph Glover of England.³ He died on his passage to this country ; but the vessel, in which he had embarked, with the view of establishing himself here, arrived in the autumn of 1638, bringing his printing-apparatus, and a person named Stephen Daye, whom he had engaged to come, for the purpose of conducting the press. By direction of the magistrates and elders, Daye immediately set up the press in Cambridge ; and in the first month of 1639 commenced printing. The first work, which issued from the American press, was the “Freeman’s Oath,” the next was Peirce’s

¹ Holmes’s Hist. of Cambridge, in Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. VII. p. 21. First Series. See Note D.

² Thomas’s History of Printing, Vol. I. pp. 203–231.

³ Some of the early records of the College were considerably burnt by the fire which destroyed Harvard Hall, in 1764 ; so that many particulars respecting the donations previous to that period are, no doubt, lost. I find, however, the following relating to the press : “Mr. Joseph Glover gave to the Colledge a font of printing-letters.” “Some gentlemen of Amsterdam gave towards the furnishing of a printing-press with letters forty-nine pounds and something more.” — *The University Book of Donations, No. I.* Others also appear to have contributed towards this establishment. — Thomas’s *History of Printing*, Vol. I. p. 224.

“Almanack,” and the next “The Psalms newly turned into metre.”¹ The first two were printed in 1639; and the last, of which there is a copy in the library of the University, and which is the first production of the American press that rises to the dignity of a *book*, appeared in the following year.²

Mr. Eaton was called simply *Master*, or *Professor*. It does not appear that any person was appointed to succeed him till the 27th of August, 1640; when the Reverend HENRY DUNSTER, who had recently arrived from England, with a high character for learning and piety, was placed over the institution, with the title of *President*. Whatever changes the College underwent in other respects, or whether any were made, its arrangements and forms partook of the simplicity, which was so much affected by our Puritan forefathers, and which reigned in all their proceedings and institutions. The substantial properties of the English Universities were retained, while their pompous and imposing ceremonies were in a great measure excluded.³

Under the direction of President Dunster, the College immediately took a high stand.⁴ He not only attended to its discipline and to its various interests, with great care and success, but, as was fitting and necessary at that early period, he took an active and efficient part in the business of instruction. The course of studies embraced the contemporaneous learning of the colleges in England; shaped, however, with a particular view to the object, which our ancestors had most at heart, the supplying of the churches with

¹ Winthrop's Hist. of N. England, by Savage, Vol. I. p. 289.

² See Thomas's History of Printing, Vol. I. pp. 203 – 231.

³ Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. Vol. III. p. 501. (Collection of Papers.)

⁴ See Notes E and H.

an uninterrupted succession of learned and able ministers, and which they have taken effectual care to preserve from oblivion, by the motto, — *CHRISTO ET ECCLESIAE*, — on the College seal. A certain degree of acquaintance with the Latin and Greek languages was necessary for admission. The study of these was afterwards continued; to which was added that of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac languages; and the whole was pursued in connexion with logic, ethics, arithmetic, geometry, physics, metaphysics, politics, and divinity. As good instruction was afforded here as at the first schools in the old world; and the advantages enjoyed in this community, with respect to morals and religion, were considered so important, that young men were sometimes sent to Harvard College from England to receive their education.¹ The term for completing the academic course and arriving at the honors of the College was borrowed from the English universities; and, amid the various changes that have since taken place in the studies, examinations, and exercises, it has continued the same to this day. The degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred at the end of four years, and in three years afterwards that of Master of Arts. The examinations were frequent and close, particularly just before *Commencement*, or the time when the degrees were to be conferred. At Commencement the performances consisted of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew orations and other exercises; with disputations on theses, which had been previously printed.² Degrees were conferred on those who exhibited satisfactory evidences of their scholarship and of their good conduct.³

¹ See Note F.

² See Note E.

³ See Note G.

The first Commencement took place on the second Tuesday of August, 1642. Upon this novel and auspicious occasion, the venerable fathers of the land, the governor, magistrates, and ministers from all parts, with others in great numbers, repaired to Cambridge, and attended, with delight, to refined displays of European learning, on a spot, which but just before was the abode of savages. It was a day which, on many accounts, must have been singularly interesting. The degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on nine young gentlemen, who were the first to receive the honors of a college in British America; and who proved themselves not unworthy of that distinction, by the respectability and eminence which they afterwards attained, both in this country and in Europe.¹

The same year in which the first Commencement took place, but previously to that event, an act was passed by the General Court establishing the Board of Overseers.² It consisted of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Magistrates of the Jurisdiction, and Teaching Elders of the six adjoining towns, Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dor-

¹ See Notes H, I, J. See also Appendix, No. I.

² Dr. Holmes (Annals, I. p. 273, 2d ed.) assigns this act to the year 1643; and in a note observes, "The governors or overseers of the College met the *first time*, by virtue of this act, 27 December, 1643." But the authority to which he refers (Winthrop, II. 150), both in his Annals, and in his History of Cambridge, does not appear to me to support his statements, either as to the year in which the act was passed, or "the first time" of the meeting of the Overseers. Dr. Holmes was probably led into the mistake as to the year, by the first edition of Winthrop's Journal, the more correct one, of Mr. Savage, not having been printed when Dr. Holmes wrote those works. Compare p. 265 of Winthrop, 1st. edition, with p. 87, Vol. II. of Savage's edition. It is important to notice errors, however slight, in a writer of such acknowledged accuracy as Dr. Holmes.

chester ; who, with the Governor, were entrusted with the sole care and management of the College.¹

This body was found too large to have the immediate direction ; and on the 31st of May, 1650, an act was passed, by which the College was made a Corporation, consisting of the President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer or Burser, to have perpetual succession, by the election of members to supply vacancies, and to be called by the name of " President and Fellows of Harvard College." ² The ample powers conferred by this act were accompanied with a provision, which must have been found very inconvenient and embarrassing in practice, and which required that all Orders and By-Laws of the Corporation should have the consent of the Overseers before they could go into operation ; and in 1657 a law was accordingly passed, called an " Appendix, to the College Charter", by which the acts of the Corporation were to have immediate force and effect, and were merely " alterable " by the Overseers, to whom the Corporation was to be " responsible." ³

Previously to the passing of the last mentioned act, President Dunster had resigned his office. The Anabaptists had made their appearance a few years before, to the great annoyance of the good people of the colony ; and among those who favored their sentiments was the President of Harvard College. He seems to have been merely what is implied in the term *anti-pædobaptist*, that is, one who is opposed to the baptizing of infants ; but, being a candid and liberal man, he refused to withhold communion with other Christians on account of his differing in opinion with

¹ See Appendix, No. II.

² See Appendix, No. III.

³ See Appendix, No. IV.

them on this point. Still it was thought very dangerous for him to continue at the head of the College, unless he would agree not to inculcate his peculiar sentiments; and, though the magistrates and ministers were very desirous of retaining him, yet, as he could not conscientiously subscribe to that condition, he was prevailed upon to resign, which he did in June, 1654, having held his office nearly fourteen years, with great credit to himself, and benefit to the institution. He did not, indeed, see fit, in his letter of resignation, expressly to state these facts as the grounds of his decision, but assigned such reasons for it, as were furnished him by the circumstances under which he was originally appointed, and by certain laws which had been recently passed respecting the College; considering them, it is to be presumed, a sufficient excuse, or at least a decent apology, for a measure, which they might not alone have induced him to adopt.¹ He afterwards removed to Scituate, where he continued, and probably preached, till his decease, which took place in 1659.

President Dunster's salary was small and variable. There is a letter from him, in 1643, to Governor Winthrop, respecting his salary, in which he speaks of "abatements he had suffered, from £60 to £50, from £50 to £45, from £45 to £30, which," says he, "is now my rent from the ferry. I was and am willing, considering the poverty of the country, to descend to the lowest step, if there can be nothing comfortably allowed."² In 1647, he seems to have petitioned the General Court on the subject of his salary and of the financial concerns of the College; for in that year they passed a resolve "in answer to Mr. Dunster's

¹ See Note K.

² Mass. Hist. Coll. X. pp. 187, 188, Second Series.

petition"; and it appears from it, that the country owed to the College £133, received from several donors in England, and about £190 which was collected at home. An arrearage of £56 was also due from the country on account of President Dunster's salary. Among the donations from which the above debts to the College arose, may be mentioned one from Lady Moulson of £100, and one from Mr. Bridges of £50, which were paid into the County Treasury.¹

President Dunster was a truly worthy, as well as an eminently learned man. The candor and amiableness of his disposition were strikingly manifested in his will, by which he ordered that his body should be carried to Cambridge for burial, and left bequests to those persons, who were particularly instrumental in procuring his removal from the presidency, but who, though they lamented his heterodoxy, retained for him an affectionate regard. One of them, the celebrated preacher of Cambridge, who had been educated under President Dunster, and of whom the great Richard Baxter observed, that "if an œcumenical council could be obtained, Mr. Mitchel were worthy to be its moderator," honored him with an elegy, replete with noble and liberal sentiments.²

"His body," says Hubbard, who was one of the first class of graduates, "was solemnly interred at Cambridge, where he had spent the choice part of his studies and of his life, and might there have continued if he had been endowed with that wisdom, which many others have wanted beside himself, to have kept

¹ See Appendix, No. V.

² Holmes's History of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, Hist. Coll. Vol. VII. p. 49. First Series. See also Mather's Magnalia.

his singular opinion to himself, when there was little occasion for venting thereof.”¹

Facts, like these, exhibit our worthy ancestors to some advantage even with respect to a virtue, in which they have been supposed not to abound, — charity for those who deviated from the orthodox standard of faith. Defective as they, in common with the rest of the Christian world, must be acknowledged to have been in their ideas of toleration, they were far from persecuting heretics without mercy or discrimination. They were rigid, rather than cruel ; intolerant, but not inquisitorial ; and they seem even to have been willing that men should enjoy their peculiar sentiments without molestation, so long as they refrained from obtruding them upon the public, and conformed to those regulations which were deemed necessary for the good order of society. It must be acknowledged, however, that, in their maxims of toleration, they were not in advance of Europe ; and that the opinion expressed by Governor Haynes of Connecticut to Roger Williams, “that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences,” was for posterity to realize in its full and just extent.²

President Dunster appears to have published only one work ; but that was a production, which merits a particular notice. The fathers of New England were dissatisfied with the version of the Psalms then in use, which was that of Sternhold and Hopkins ; and several of the principal ministers, among whom were Mr. Weld and Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester, undertook to furnish one, which should

¹ Hist. of New England, in Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. VI. p. 556 ; Second Series.

² Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 280, First Series.

be more conformable to the original, and better suited to the prevailing taste. The fruit of their united labors was first given to the world in 1640, from the press at Cambridge. A second edition was printed in 1647. It was more to be commended, however, for its fidelity to the text, than for the elegance of its versification, which, having been executed by persons of different tastes and talents, was not only very uncouth, but deficient in uniformity. President Dunster, who was an excellent oriental scholar, and possessed the other requisite qualifications for the task, was employed to revise and polish it; and in two or three years, with the assistance of Mr. Richard Lyon, a young gentleman who was sent from England by Sir Henry Mildmay to attend his son, then a student in Harvard College, he produced a work, which, under the appellation of the "Bay Psalm-Book", was, for a long time, the received version in the New England congregations, was also used in many societies in England and Scotland, and passed through a great number of editions, both at home and abroad. It may here be added, that, in 1758, this New England version was revised and improved by our distinguished annalist, the Rev. Thomas Prince.

The property of the institution appears to have increased during the time President Dunster was at the head of the College, by donations, amounting at least to a thousand pounds sterling, besides annuities and grants of land; and this, at a period, when, from the difference between the value of money, and the resources of individuals and of the public, then and now, a hundred was equivalent to thousands at the present day. A part of this, it is true, was given by generous individuals in England, and in the other colonies; but more than half was collected in Massachu-

setts.¹ The gifts were from a great number of persons, and consisted generally of small sums ; few of which would make much figure at the present day. They consisted sometimes of money, and sometimes of particular articles or commodities, with their value annexed.

Some of the donations merit particular notice ; and of the following some may have been made a little before Mr. Dunster's time.

Mr. Theophilus Eaton gave £40 towards building the edifices of the College.

Mr. Hobart, a school-master, gave £22.

Mr. Bridges, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Glover gave as many utensils as amounted to £20.

A gentleman, not willing his name should be put upon record, gave £50.

A considerable amount was bestowed upon the Library. The scholars, who first came over to this country, brought good libraries with them from England ;² and, as early as 1642, the magistrates and elders gave from their own libraries to the College, books to the value of £200. Mr. William Hibbons, Mr. Thomas Wells, and Mr. *Hugh Peters*, procured, about the same time, from "divers gentlemen and merchants" in England, £150 for the same object.³

In 1645, John Buckley,⁴ first Master of Arts in Harvard College, and Matthew Day, steward, gave, for the use of the resident fellows, a garden containing an acre and a rod of land, near the College ; since called "Fellows' or Tutors' Orchard."

¹ University Donation Book, I.

² Incr. Mather's Disc. &c. p. 32.

³ Donation Book, I.

⁴ This name is so spelled in the Records. His father, the Rev. Peter Bulkeley of Concord, is said by C. Mather (in his *Magnaia*) to have "endowed the Library of Harvard College with no small part of his own."

Mr. Israel Stoughton of Dorchester bequeathed to the College, "towards the advancing of learning," 300 acres of land "about Mother Brook."¹

By an account of President Dunster's it appears there were "two small shops in Boston, the gift of Major Sedgwick to the Colledge, which shops were made void by Mr. William Phillips at the Ship Tavern; and the Tavern House was engaged for the annual payment of twenty shillings to the Colledge for ever."

In 1640, John Newgate of Boston granted to the College "five pounds per annum for ever, towards the maintenance of lawfull, usefull, and good literature therein, and chiefly to the furtherance of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and his word and will," to be paid from the rents of his farm at Rumney Marsh.²

In 1652, John Coggan of Boston, Merchant, gave to Harvard College, for the use of the President and Fellows of the said College, so long as they and their successors profess and teach the good knowledge of God's Holy Word and works," &c., a parcel of marsh land in Rumney Marsh (Chelsea), then estimated at seventy acres, but which appears to have since dwindled to fifty acres.

In 1653, John Glover of Boston gave, by will, "five pounds a year for ever towards the maintenance of a fellow, to be raised from a moiety of his house and land given to his son Habakkuk."³

The town of Cambridge gave to the College 100 acres of land "at Shawshin, now Billerica"; to which President Dunster added 100 acres adjoining it.

There were three large lots of land, one of 600 acres and two of 800 acres each, granted by the Gen-

¹ Called in the Records, *Brooks*.

² Donation Book, I.

³ *Ibid*.

eral Court, or by individuals, but from which, “through the negligence of former times,” or some other cause, the College never derived any benefit.

In looking over the list of early benefactions to the College, we are amused, when we read of a number of sheep bequeathed by one man, a quantity of cotton cloth worth nine shillings presented by another, a pewter flagon worth ten shillings by a third, a fruit-dish, a sugar-spoon, a silver-tipt jug, one great salt, one small trencher-salt, by others; and of presents or legacies amounting severally to five shillings, nine shillings, one pound, two pounds, &c., all faithfully recorded with the names of their respective donors. How soon does a little reflection change any disposition we may have to smile, into a feeling of respect, and even of admiration! What, in fact, were these humble benefactions? They were contributions from the “*res angusta domi*”; from pious, virtuous, enlightened penury, to the noblest of all causes, the advancement of education. The donations were *small*, for the people were *poor*; they leave no doubt as to the motives which actuated the donors; they remind us of the offering, from “every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation;” and, like the widow’s mite, indicate a respect and zeal for the object, which would have done greater things, had the means been more abundant.

CHAPTER II.

THE town to which President Dunster retired after his resignation had the singular fortune to supply the College with a successor in the person of the Rev. Charles Chauncy. He "was of the contrary extreme as to baptism from his predecessor; it being his judgment not only to admit infants to baptism, but to wash or dip them all over."¹ He also thought that the Lord's supper should be administered in the evening.²

President Chauncy enjoyed great celebrity in his day, both in this country and in Europe; and of his high character for learning and piety, as well as of his sufferings on account of his religious opinions, ample testimonials have been preserved in various works of authority and note.

He was the fifth and youngest son of George Chauncy, Esq.; and was born at Yardley-Bury in Hertfordshire, England, in the year 1589. He received his grammar education at Westminster School, where he was at the time of the intended execution of the gunpowder plot, and would have been one of its victims. From that celebrated school he was removed to Trinity College, in the University of Cambridge;

¹ Hubbard's New England, in Mass. Hist. Coll. VI. p. 544, Second Series.

² Winthrop's Hist. by Savage, I. p. 330, note. "It is a little remarkable," says the learned editor, "that the two first Presidents of Harvard College adopted opinions on the form of baptism adverse to that of all the other divines and laicks of the colony."

and in due time was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Among the advantages he there enjoyed was that of the esteem and friendship of the famous Archbishop Usher. Of the high estimation in which he was held, there are other evidences not less decisive. He was elected by the Heads of Houses to the professorship of Hebrew; and, when Dr. Williams, the Vice-Chancellor, preferred a relation of his own to that office, he received an appointment, equally honorable and important, that of Greek Professor. The *epicrisis* prefixed to Leigh's "Critica Sacra" on the New Testament, containing a recommendation of that work, was from his pen. It is introduced as coming from a most learned and pious friend; but the mere fact of his opinion respecting so profound a work being thought of importance enough to be inserted in it, sufficiently indicates his rank among his contemporaries. He was, indeed, admirably skilled in the learned languages, particularly the Oriental. In his acquisition of the Hebrew he derived no small benefit, during the space of a year, from the conversation of a Jew. He seems to have been well acquainted with all parts of learning; but his favorite study was divinity; and to the accomplishments of a great scholar and theologian, he added the other requisite qualifications for the sacerdotal office.

When he left the University, he became an eminent and successful minister of the Gospel, first at Marston Lawrence, and afterwards at Ware in Hertfordshire. Having a strong aversion, however, to certain opinions and practices which the arm of authority was then forcing upon the church, and expressing his abhorrence with great warmth and freedom, he was not long permitted to discharge his ministerial functions without

molestation. In the year 1629, "using," says Rushworth, "some expressions in his sermon, *that idolatry was admitted into the Church, that the preaching of the Gospel would be suppressed, that there is much atheism, popery, Arminianism, and heresy crept into the Church* ; and this being looked upon as designed to raise a fear among the people, that some alteration of religion would ensue, he was questioned in the High-Commission, and, by order of that court, the cause was referred to the Bishop of London [Laud], being his ordinary, who ordered him to make a *submission* in Latin." ¹

Whatever may have been the nature or effect of that submission, he did not remain silent ; for, under the year 1635, after Laud had been made Archbishop, we find in the same author, the following record : " Mr. Charles Chauncy, Minister of Ware in Hertfordshire, for opposing the making of a *rail about the Communion-table* in that parish-church, as an innovation and snare to men's consciences, was brought into the High-Commission, and there pronounced guilty of contempt of ecclesiastical government, and raising a schism ; and was suspended from his ministry, till he should make in open court a *recantation* after a prescribed form, acknowledging his great offence in using the invective words, and protesting that he was persuaded in his conscience, that kneeling at the Sacrament was a lawful and commendable gesture, that the rail set up in the church with a bench thereunto annexed, for kneeling at the holy communion, was a decent and convenient ornament, and promising never by word or deed to oppose either that, or any other laudable right and ceremony prescribed in the church of England.

¹ Rushworth, Hist. Coll. II. p. 34.

“He is condemned in great costs of suit, and was imprisoned till he paid the same, or performed the order of the court.”

“Afterwards, Mr. Chauncy having made the *recantation*, was dismissed with a judicial admonition given by the Archbishop to live peaceably and conformably to the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies of the Church of England, and neither by word nor deed to oppose, or bring into disesteem any of them.”¹

This recantation, thus violently extorted from him, averted the penalties of the sentence; but it was only to inflict upon him the tortures of self-reproach; and, though he soon after exposed himself anew to the vengeance of his bigoted superiors, by publicly acknowledging his fault, and by steadily resisting the encroachments of supposed error and corruption, he never forgave himself for his criminal weakness as long as he lived. He did not even omit it in his last will, the preamble to which contained strong expressions of self-condemnation for his “so many sinful compliances with and conformity unto vile human inventions, and will-worship and hell-bred superstition, and patcheries stitched into the service of the Lord, which the English *mass-book*, that is, the Book of Common Prayer, and the ordination of priests, &c., are fully fraught withal.” He then most solemnly enjoins it upon his posterity throughout all generations, “not to conform, as he had done, to rights and ceremonies in religious worship of man’s devising, and not of God’s appointment.”²

¹ Rushworth, Hist. Coll. II. p. 316. “This prosecution was one of the things urged in proof against Laud, when he was brought to trial in 1642.” Biogr. Brit., Second Edit. (Kippis’s), Art. *Chauncy*, note. See the same article for the *form* of his recantation.

² Mather’s *Magnalia*, B. III. p. 135; and Mass. Hist. Coll. X. p. 173, First Series.

The resentment of Archbishop Laud contented itself at length with silencing and suspending him. The immediate cause of this appears to have been his refusing to read the book of sports, his discountenancing all profane recreations on the Sabbath; and, when public worship was interdicted on the afternoons of that day, his employing himself in catechizing his flock, which Laud said was as bad as preaching!¹

After this he determined to seek an asylum among the Pilgrims in New England. He was then about forty-eight years old; "and few suffered for nonconformity more than he, by fines, by gaols, by necessities to abscond, and at last by an exile from his native country."²

He arrived at Plymouth a few days before the great earthquake in New England, which happened June 1st, 1638. He remained and preached at this place about three years; but, differing from the church on the subject of baptism, he declined settling, though they were so desirous of retaining him that they proposed that he and Mr. Reyner, the minister, should baptize, each in his own mode, without interfering with the other. He did not think proper to accede to their proposal; but accepted an invitation to take the pastoral charge of the church at Scituate.³ At his entrance on this new relation he was reordained, and on this occasion he delivered a sermon, on these words in Proverbs ix. 3; *Wisdom hath sent forth her maidens*; in which, alluding to his compliances with the High-Commission Court, he said with tears; "Alas! Christians, I am no maiden; my soul hath been defiled

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, B. III. p. 135.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cotton's *Account of the Church in Plymouth*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* IV. pp. 111, 112, First Series.

with false worship ; how wondrous is the free grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I should still be employed among the maidens of wisdom !”¹

He remained at Scituate about twelve years, enjoying all that consideration, to which his learning and worth entitled him ; not, however, without some mixture of the alloy which seems inseparable from every condition of life ; for he not only met with opposition to his religious peculiarities, but endured the miseries of a scanty maintenance. “Deest,” said he, “quidem panis.”²

In the mean time the situation of the Puritans in England had undergone a great alteration. The party to which they belonged had in its turn acquired the ascendancy. A state of things, so favorable to the restoration of the exiled ministers was not without its effect ; and Mr. Chauncy, having received an invitation from his former people at Ware to return and renew his pastoral connexion with them, decided to do it, and went to Boston for the purpose of taking passage to England. Happening to be there about the time when President Dunster resigned, he was prevailed upon to accept the presidency of Harvard College. On the 2d of November 1654, “Mr. Mather, and Mr. Norton were desired by the *Overseers* of the College, to tender unto the Rev. Mr. Charles Chauncy the place of President, with the stipend of one hundred pounds per annum, to be paid out of the country treasury ; and withal to signify to him, that it is expected and desired that he forbear to disseminate or publish any tenets concerning *immersion in baptism, and celebration of the Lord's supper at*

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, B. III. p. 136.

² *I even want bread.* — Mass. Hist. Coll. X. p. 174, First Series.

.evening, or to expose the received doctrine therein.”¹ He readily agreed to this, and was inaugurated November 27th, 1654. On that occasion he made an “excellent oration”, and concluded it with these words: “Doctiorem, certe, Præsidem, et huic oneri ac stationi multis modis aptiorem, vobis facile licet invenire; sed amantiorem, et vestri boni studiosiorem, non invenietis.”² “And certainly,” says Cotton Mather, “he was as good as his word. How learnedly he now conveyed all the liberal arts unto those that sat at his feet; how wittily he moderated their disputations and other exercises; how constantly he expounded the Scriptures to them in the College-Hall; how fluently he expressed himself unto them, with Latin of a Terentian phrase, in all his discourses; and how carefully he inspected their manners, and was above all things concerned for them, that they might answer a note which he gave them, *When you are yourselves interested in the Lord Jesus Christ, and his righteousness, you will be fit to be teachers of others*; — will never be forgotten by many of our most worthy men, who were made such by their education under him.”³

The first event of importance which took place in President Chauncy’s time relating to the College, was the passing of the act, in 1657, called the Appendix to the Charter, as before related.

In the year 1659, the General Court passed an act, by which, — after acknowledging the great goodness of God towards the people in this wilderness, in raising up schools of learning, especially the College; stating that the College had suffered injury by the scantiness of its means, that many propositions had

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. X. p. 175, First Series.

² Mather’s Magnalia, B. III. p. 3.

³ Ibid.

been made for a voluntary contribution, but that from several persons and towns nothing had been obtained, though some had done very liberally; and expressing a fear that they should show themselves ungrateful to God, or unfaithful to posterity, if, through their neglect, so good a seminary of knowledge and virtue should fall to the ground, — they ordered, that, besides the income of Charlestown ferry, formerly granted to the College, one hundred pounds should be annually levied by addition to the country rate, for the maintenance of the President and Fellows, to be distributed according to the determination of the *Overseers*; and to continue during the pleasure of the country; and that the payment of the voluntary contribution should not be exacted; or, where it had been already paid, an allowance should be made for it in the country rate.¹

But the operations of the press during this period were more particularly interesting. They were such as attracted no small attention even in Europe. “The press of Harvard College,” says Thomas, in his *History of Printing*, “was for a time as celebrated as the presses of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in England.” It sent forth a considerable number of works in the first thirty years after its establishment. With the exception of Almanacs, they were principally religious works; but the most important ones, and those which gave the press its chief celebrity, were the

¹ Colony Laws of Massachusetts, p. 30, edit. 1672. “For more than half a century, the tutors, who with the President conducted the instruction and immediate government, were called ‘Fellows of the College.’ After the establishment of the Corporation, there were ‘Fellows of the House or College,’ and ‘Resident Fellows,’ and ‘Fellows of the Corporation.’ This name is now and has been for more than sixty years confined to the members of the ‘Corporation.’” — *Constitution of the University, Appendix*, p. 17, 18, note.

publications of the Apostle Eliot, in the Indian language of Massachusetts, all of them printed at the expense of the "Society in London for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," the governor of which, at that time, and for many years, was the illustrious philosopher, Robert Boyle.

For the purpose of supplying the Indians with the Bible, and other books calculated for their conversion and instruction, this Society sent over a printing-apparatus, and a printer, by the name of Marmaduke Johnson, to whom, for some years, they allowed a salary. As early as 1653, Eliot's Indian Catechism was printed; in 1661, his New Testament; and in 1663, his Bible, a second edition of which was printed in 1685.¹ Besides these, Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," the "Practice of Piety," the "Psalms of David in Indian Verse," an "Indian Grammar," Pierson's "Catechism," and several other works in the same language, most of which were translated by Eliot, issued from this press.²

In the mean time some small religious treatises were emitted, which were thought to be rather too liberal, and in 1662 the General Court saw fit to subject the press to the control of Major General Gookin and the Rev. Mr. Mitchel of Cambridge, who were appointed licensers.

The next year an order was passed restoring to the press its former liberty; but the fears of the gov-

¹ It is an indication of the importance attached to these extraordinary productions, that the first of them, the New Testament, was dedicated by "the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England" to king Charles the Second.

² A copy of the New Testament, and of both editions of the Bible, with some of the other works, are now in the Library of the University. See also Gookin's Hist. Coll. in Mass. Hist. Coll. I. p. 172. Thomas's Hist. of Printing, I. p. 241, &c.

ernment seem to have been soon awakened again ; and they passed an order more rigid than the former. It permitted no printing-press to be established in any town, within the jurisdiction, except in Cambridge ; and required the printing of every book to be preceded by a licence from the President of the College, from Mr. Sherman, Mr. Mitchel, and Mr. Shepherd, or any two of them, subjecting every offender against the rule to the penalty of a forfeiture of his press, and interdiction of his employment. The Court went even further ; for in 1667 they directed the licensers to reëxamine a work, which the latter had already permitted to be printed, and, in the mean time, forbade its further progress through the press. This work was no other than the celebrated treatise ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, entitled “Imitation of Christ.”¹ Which is most to be admired, the liberality of the Puritan licensers, who must have regarded popery as the most frightful of monsters, in allowing the work of a Roman Catholic *monk* to be printed, or the bigotry of the Court in forbidding it, is left to others to determine.²

Not content with making great exertions for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, by preaching to them, catechizing them, giving them the Bible, and other books in their own language, and laboring in various ways ; the worthies of that day were very desirous they should enjoy the benefits of education ; and even took great pains to make scholars among

¹ Thomas's Hist. of Printing, I. pp. 246 – 248.

² Though the press was connected with the College, it would seem from the above account, that the connexion was rather a loose one. It is probable, indeed, that the printer had the principal control of it. He was Samuel Green. “Some writers,” says Mr. Thomas, “since the year 1733, erroneously mention Green as the *first who printed in New England, or in North America.*”

them, so that they might be supplied with learned and able ministers from their own stock. Their efforts, however, were not attended with much success; for those who undertook to study were apt to become tired and discontented, and to return to their countrymen; they frequently grew sick and died, after having made considerable proficiency in learning; and, though several Indians were admitted into the College, only one was ever graduated. His name was Caleb Chee-shahteumuck; he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1665, and soon afterwards died of a consumption. The friends of the Aborigines were not discouraged by these unpromising appearances; and, in 1665, at an expense of between £300 and £400 a house was erected for their accommodation, which was usually called the Indian College. It was of brick, and large enough to receive about twenty scholars; but so little use was made of it by the Indians, that it was soon afterwards occupied for other purposes, and particularly for a printing-office. The expense of erecting this building was borne by the "Society for Propagating the Gospel" before mentioned, as was also, in a great measure, the expense of educating the Indians.¹ The building was taken down many years since. It stood not far from the other buildings of the College.²

President Chauncy continued at the head of the College nearly seventeen years; and, by the manner in which he filled his station, fully sustained his high character for talents, learning, and piety, and satisfied the expectation of the public.

¹ Gookin's Hist. Coll. in Mass. Hist. Coll. I. pp. 172–176, First Series. Holmes's Hist. of Cambridge, *ibid.* VII. pp. 23–25.

² Thomas's Hist. of Printing, I. p. 241.

He possessed in a remarkable degree the inestimable habit of *industry*. He constantly rose at 4 o'clock, winter and summer; and employed all his time in studying, in teaching, in performing acts of devotion, and in discharging the various duties of his office. In the morning he expounded to the students, assembled in the College Hall, a chapter of the Old Testament, which one of them read from the Hebrew, and in the evening, a chapter of the New Testament, from the Greek. On Sunday morning, instead of the exposition, he delivered a sermon to the students about three quarters of an hour long; and once a fortnight preached publicly in the forenoon. His preaching was plain, though learned and animated. The practice, common at that time, of sprinkling sermons with Latin phrases, met his disapprobation; and he cautioned ministers against "shooting over the heads and hearts of their hearers, by handling deep points, or using dark and obscure expressions." It is a remarkable fact that the church in Cambridge, with which he connected himself, considered his residence at that place so great a blessing, that in a year or two after he came there, they kept a whole day of thanksgiving to God for the privilege by which they were thus distinguished.¹

His application continued unabated after he had reached the age of fourscore years; he seems to have thought with the learned Bishop Cumberland, himself an octogenarian, that "it was better to wear out than rust out"; and, when his friends advised him to remit his labors, his reply was, "*Oportet imperatorem stantem mori,*" *A commander should die at his post.* He was,

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, B. III, p. 136.

indeed, animated with a zeal, like that of the soldier, who pants to die on the field of glory, and while in the very act of fighting for his master. It is related, that "the fellows of the College once leading this venerable old man, to preach a sermon in a winter day, they, out of affection unto him, to discourage him from so difficult an undertaking, told him, *Sir, you'll certainly die in the pulpit* ; but he laying hold on what they said, as if they had offered him the greatest encouragement in the world, pressed the more vigorously through the *snow-drift*, and said, *How glad should I be, if what you say might prove true !*"¹

At length he took a solemn farewell of his friends in an Oration on Commencement day, 1671; and, full of hope and joy, died on the 17th of February following, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the seventeenth of his Presidentship over Harvard College.

With all the elements, intellectual and moral, which enter into the composition of a great character, he was not exempt from the frailties of human nature, nor from the prejudices of the age in which he lived.

His temper was hasty and passionate; but the good man deeply lamented this infirmity, and took great pains to correct it.² To the warmth and quickness of his passions may probably be attributed, in no small degree, those unfortunate occurrences of his earlier years, which were the cause of so much sorrow to him during his subsequent life. Like the Apostle Peter, he seems to have been hurried by the excitement of the moment into rash and intemperate declarations, the consequences of which he either had not deliberately weighed, or had not, by the necessary discipline, prepared his mind resolutely to endure; but let it be re-

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, B. III. p. 137.

² *Ibid.* pp. 136, 137.

membered, that, like the same great Apostle, he afterwards truly repented of his fault, and, not only bore with patience and fortitude all the evils which befell him, but exhibited that spirit and energy of character, which would have sustained him under the severest trials of martyrdom.

Belonging to the sect denominated *Puritans*, he was Calvinistic in his views; and, though he does not appear to have been deficient in charity, yet, with respect to manners and customs, he held those rigid opinions which, in giving no quarter to the vanities and frivolities of the world, sometimes run into ludicrous extravagancies. We are not told how far he exacted simplicity in apparel; nor do we find it recorded, that, like his renowned contemporary, the Apostle Eliot, he preached and prayed against the abomination of *wigs*; but he inveighed from the pulpit with great vehemence against the kindred enormity of *long hair*. “’Tis strange,” says his great grandson, the famous Dr. Chauncy, “’tis strange, men of learning, real good sense, and solid judgement, should be able to expend so much zeal against a trifle, not to say a thing absolutely indifferent in its own nature. But the greatest as well as best men in this country, in that day, magistrates as well as ministers, esteemed the *wearing of long hair* an enormous vice, and most solemnly testified against it as such.”¹

But after making all the deductions that can be reasonably demanded, enough will still be left to establish his claim to a high rank in the learned and religious world. He was a star of the first magnitude in a brilliant constellation of New-England worthies. With such lustre have their names been transmitted to pos-

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. X. pp. 178, 179, First Series.

terity, that the late President Stiles, himself a scholar and divine of no ordinary reputation, ventured to say "I consider him [Mr. Bulkeley] and President Chauncy, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Davenport, as the greatest divines among the first ministers of New England, and equal to the first characters in theology in all Christendom, and in all ages."¹

President Chauncy's publications were,—A Sermon from Amos ii. 11, on the advantages of schools, &c.; the Election Sermon in 1656; a volume of twenty-six Sermons on Justification; and the *Antisynodalia*, written against the proceedings of the Synod held in Boston in 1662. His papers were left to the oldest of his sons then in this country, who preserved them as a valuable treasure; but when the late Dr. Chauncy endeavoured to obtain them, he found that a Northampton deacon, who married the widow of that son, and who supported himself principally by making pastry, had consumed the learned writings of our great scholar in the oven at the bottom of his pies!² A fate, from which no inference can be drawn unfavorable to their merit; for even the manuscripts, from which the Complutensian Polyglot was composed, were used in the manufacture of rockets!

The College was enriched during President Chauncy's administration by many acts of munificence. A contribution was made through the colony for the erection of a new building, "the old wooden one being small and decayed."³ The sum of £2282 5s.⁴ was obtained,

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. II. p. 260, Second Series.

² Ib. X. p. 179, First Series.

³ Belknap's New Hampshire, I. p. 98, 2d edit. Also Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. III. p. 501.

⁴ College Records. By mistake the amount has been stated at only £1895 2s. 9d.

“and this contribution, with some other assistance, quickly produced a *new College*, wearing still the name of the *old one*, which old one is now so mouldered away, that,

‘*Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit.*’ ”

In consequence of the Indian War then carrying on the new “Harvard Hall was not finished till the year 1677. It was a fair and stately edifice of brick”;¹ stood not far from the old one, and remained till the year 1764, when it was destroyed by a fire, of which an account will be given in the proper place.

The nature or magnitude of several of the donations render it proper that a particular account should be given of them.

In the years 1654 and 1655 there was a contribution from a number of generous individuals in the Colony, to the amount of £250 for the repair of the College. Of this sum Richard Bellingham, Esq., gave £40, and Mr. John Wilson, sen., forty shillings per annum for ten years, making in all £20; but the largest amount was from Richard Saltonstall, Esq., who gave £104. The same gentleman also, in 1659, being then in England sent over for the use of the College, in money and goods, the sum of £320.² This was, probably, the legacy mentioned by Hutchinson³ as having been given to the College in 1658 by his father Sir Richard Saltonstall. It is not clear that this £320 was not Sir Richard’s legacy. It probably was, and might

¹ Hubbard’s New England, in Mass. Hist. Coll. VI. p. 610, Second Series.

² Donation Book, I.

³ Hutchinson’s Hist. I. p. 16.

have been sent over by his son; for no other one is mentioned in the Book of Donations.

Mr. William Paine, merchant, gave £20 with which was purchased a little more than an acre of land, being part of what is now occupied by the College buildings; of which further notice will be taken in another place.

Mr. Robert Keyne, a merchant in Boston, left, by will, property to the amount of about £250.

In the year 1658, Edward Hopkins, Esq., who had been governor of Hartford Colony, gave by will £100, and left the College a further legacy, of which more will be said hereafter.¹

In 1659, John Dodderidge, Esq., of Bremeridge, in the County of Devon, bequeathed towards the maintenance of scholars the yearly sum of ten pounds for ever. "This annuity was paid for some years, but not since February 1684, though many attempts have been made to recover it."²

In the year 1660, Mr. Henry Webb of Boston, merchant, gave the College by will a dwelling-house in Boston, rented at £13 per annum, and a legacy of £50, to be laid out in some productive estate.

Contributions were made to the Library by several individuals; of whom Sir Kenelm Digby gave books to the value of £60, and Mr. John Winthrop, forty choice books valued at £20.³

In the year 1660 the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley bequeathed to the College part of his library, and the reversion of his house and lands. These were

¹ Mr. Hopkins died at London in March, 1657. — Hutchinson's *Hist.* Vol. I. p. 82, note.

² Donation Book, I.

³ This was probably the governor of New Haven.

afterwards sold, and the money was laid out in the purchase of a farm at Waltham, called the *Rogers Farm*.

Capt. Richard Sprague of Charlestown, by his last will, gave to the College 32 ewe sheep with their lambs, valued at £30.

Mr. John Ward of Ipswich, “by his last will, gave the remainder of his estate (debts and legacies being paid) to the College, whereof was received, of his executors, horses valued at seventy-two pounds.”

In 1669, Elder Richard Champney bequeathed 40 acres of land in Cambridge, near the Falls of Charles River, “as an expression of his willingness to further the education of youth in all godly literature.”

Henry Henley, Esq., of Lime in Dorsetshire, gave to the College £27.

In 1670, William Pennoyer, Esq., ordered by his will, that out of the rents and profits of certain estates in the County of Norfolk, let at the yearly rent of £44, ten pounds per annum should be paid to the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England, and “that with the residue two fellows and two scholars for ever should be educated, brought up, and maintained” in this College. This bequest was the earliest existing foundation for those periodical donations to indigent students, called *exhibitions*.

In 1671, Elder James Penn bequeathed £10 per annum, out of his farm at Pulling Point, to be paid to the elders and deacons of the First Church in Boston, for the maintenance of poor scholars at the College.

In 1672, Mr. John Hayward of Charlestown bequeathed to the College a tract of land in Watertown estimated at twenty acres.

“1669. Several well-minded persons in the town of Portsmouth, upon Piscataqua river, voluntarily en-

gaged themselves to give freely towards the encouragement of the College, sixty pounds per annum, for seven years. By a clause of the will of Mr. Richard Cutts, it appears, that he subscribed twenty pounds per annum of this donation.

“In 1673, the town of Portsmouth voted, that what remained unpaid should be levied by rate annually upon the inhabitants of that town.”

“A voluntary contribution made towards the new edifice, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Boston,	800	0	0
Sir Thomas Temple gave, £100			
Benjamin Gibbs,	50		
Salem,	130	2	3
Rev. Mr. Higginson gave £ 5			
Mr. Wm. Brown, jr. (money) 40			
Mr. Edmund Batter,	20		
Dorchester,	67	4	11
Lynn,	20	0	0
Watertown,	41	16	3
Cambridge and the village,	199	1	8
Ipswich,	60	3	2
Newbury,	21	4	0
Charlestown,	196	11	1
Weymouth,	39	10	0
Braintree,	87	14	6
Rowley,	40	8	5
Dedham,	61	12	0
Whereof Ens. Thos. Fuller, £ 5			
Roxbury,	37	16	8
Concord,	33	7	5
Sudbury,	24	0	8
Marblehead,	8	19	6
Amount carried forward	1869	12	6

	£.	s.	d.
Amount brought forward	1869	12	6
Springfield,	17	18	9
Hadly	33	15	3
Northampton,	20	9	4
Westfield,	12	8	1
Dover,	32	15	0
Kittery	22	0	0
Salisbury,	17	0	0
Topsfield,	6	0	0
Exeter,	10	0	0
Chelmsford	18	7	0
Billerica,	12	4	0
Marlborough,	11	11	0
Glocester,	5	0	0
Andover,	12	10	0
Medfield,	7	16	0
Milton,	14	18	0
Wenham,	4	11	5
Hingham,	19	6	2
Hull,	3	18	0
Reading,	30	17	6
Malden,	10	0	0
Haverhill,	18	10	6
Scarborough,	2	9	6
Bradford,	9	3	0
Beverly,	13	0	0
Hatfield,	14	2	0
Woburne,	27	2	0
	<hr/>		
	2277	5	0
S ^r . George Downing,	5	0	0
	<hr/>		

£2282 5s. 0d. ”

In addition to the above, several hundred pounds were given to the College by others, among whom Mr. Henry Ashurst gave £100.

Several parcels of land were laid out, in the Pequod country, in 1658, in lieu of 2000 acres, which had been granted by the General Court in 1653; but the College does not appear to have been ever benefited by these lands; nor did it ever obtain a lot of land at the south end of Boston, containing twenty rods, which was granted to it by Mr. Theodore Atkinson in 1671.

By the above list taken from the College Records, it appears that a part of the money was collected beyond the limits of Massachusetts.

It was, perhaps, fortunate, that, for so long a period after the foundation of the College, and before many other institutions had sprung up to divide the attention of the public, this "school of the prophets" should have experienced no individual patronage of sufficient magnitude to supersede the care and support of the community at large. Its long dependence on the whole people, by whom it was cherished with parental fondness, tended to secure and perpetuate their affection for the College, and even for learning itself; and to this circumstance may probably be traced, in some degree, that general interest in the cause of education, for which New England has always been distinguished.

CHAPTER III.

Thus far the College had been under the direction of scholars from the English Universities; and it was fortunate for the institution that its first presidents were such men as Dunster and Chauncy,—men, not unfit to be proposed as models to those who should come after them; being distinguished, not only for their talents, learning, and worth, but for that energy of character, which, at all times a desirable quality in the head of the College, was, at its commencement and during its early stages, absolutely indispensable.

But there has probably never been a time since the foundation of the College, when it was easier to find officers and instructors, than at that period; for many of the early emigrants to New England were men who had received the best education which England could afford. It would, therefore, have rather excited surprise, if, under such circumstances, the first presidents had not been men of a superior order.

From this time the presidents of the College will be found to have been selected from among its own sons; and it will be no small praise, if it shall appear that under them the College generally maintained the reputation which it had already acquired.

During all this time the various instruments and repositories of learning had been gradually accumulating.

There was no great increase in the number of the students to this time, nor for several years after; and it was not to be expected that there should be; circumstances did not admit of it; the people generally were poor, and they had every thing to do. They had a wilderness to clear up and to cultivate, towns to settle, houses to build, arts and trades to introduce, roads and bridges to make, institutions civil and religious to frame and to establish; they had the natives of the forest to manage, to watch, and sometimes to fight; they were subjected to toil, to privation, hardship, and hazard; their sufferings from the inroads of hostile savages were sometimes such as to make them tremble for the very existence of the colony; the settlements, which looked to this seminary for instruction in the liberal arts and sciences, were scattered over all New England, and the communication between them was difficult; funds for the assistance of indigent scholars had not yet been provided to any extent. Add to all this, that, in consequence of the favorable change in the situation of the Puritans in England, for about twenty years after the first *Commencement* no accessions to our population were made from that quarter.

It is rather a subject of wonder, that, under such circumstances, the College flourished in the manner in which it did.

The Catalogue of graduates exhibits a great difference in different years; there is little uniformity of numbers under the respective dates; and a few years even have the names of no graduates subjoined to them. The institution, however, was for the most part gradually increasing. It was, from the first, a bright and cheering orb in this western hemisphere;

and, though its rays were occasionally intercepted by passing clouds, it never ceased to be a fountain of light.

The course of proceedings under the new race of presidents (if I may be allowed the expression) had not a very auspicious beginning. President Chauncy's successor, Dr. Leonard Hoar, is not to be envied the distinction of being the first graduate of Harvard College who was placed its head. He found the office a bed of thorns; and might truly say, from his own experience, "*Sceptrum illud scholasticum plus habet solitudinis quam pulchritudinis, plus curæ quam auri, plus impedimenti quam argenti.*" *That academic sceptre has more of solicitude than charms, more anxiety than profit, more trouble than remuneration.*¹

At what time or place Dr. Hoar was born does not appear from any accounts I have seen.² He was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1650, and in 1653 went to England. The degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred upon him at the University of Cambridge. He preached in several places, was settled at Wanstead in Essex, and was one of the host of ministers (two thousand) who, after the restoration of Charles the Second, were ejected for non-conformity.

An invitation to take the pastoral charge of the South Church in Boston, or his own "eager desire after" the presidency of Harvard College, induced him

¹ Melchior Adam, as quoted by Cotton Mather.

² "His father, according to credible tradition, came a merchant of a respectable estate from London, a few years after the first settlement of the Massachusetts colony. At what time he died is unknown; Mrs. Joanna Hoar, his widow, died at Braintree, now Quincy, December 21st, 1661." — *MS. Letter of Mr. Lemuel Shattuck of Concord, March 4th, 1831.*

to return to New England.¹ He had married a daughter of Lord Lisle, who came with him, and is represented as a "great example of piety and patience." Soon after he returned, July 30th, 1672, he was elected President of Harvard College. He was recommended for it by several dissenting ministers of London and its vicinity, in a letter to the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts-Bay; and he also carried a letter of the same import to Gov. Leverett, from Mr. John Collins, who was one of those ministers, had been educated at Harvard College, and for several years rendered certain services to the colony.² He was a good scholar and in other respects an estimable character; but in the government of the college he was very unfortunate. His authority was treated with contempt; whatever he did and said, was ridiculed by the students; and every thing in his conduct that was disagreeable to them was aggravated, with a view to render him odious. Cotton Mather attributes this insubordination to the countenance it received from some men of note and influence in the vicinity, and in this he seems to be followed by Hutchinson and others; but they have not furnished a statement of those facts, which would enable us to decide how far the imputation is well founded. In 1673 four of the fellows resigned their places in the Corporation; only seven persons received the degree of Bachelor of Arts during the years, 1672, 1673, and 1674;³ the excitement in short rose to such a height, that the students deserted the College; and the Doctor resigned his office March 15th, 1675. He did not long survive this event. His sufferings brought on a con-

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. Massachusetts, Collection of Papers, p. 445.

² Ibid. p. 431, 435.

³ Memorial of the Resident Instructors in 1824, p. 12.

sumption, of which he died on the 28th of November following.

A letter from him, while in England, to Josiah Flint, then a student in Harvard College, has been published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections. It contains some good advice; but is not very elegantly written.¹

An ordinance was passed by the General Court October 8, 1672, which was intended as a substitute for the existing charter. It altered the name of the Corporation from “President and Fellows” to that of “President, Fellows, and Treasurer of Harvard College”; it modified their powers in some respects, and granted important additional ones, civil and collegiate; but the Corporation do not appear to have accepted this charter; and it is regarded as never having possessed any validity.²

¹ Vol. VI. p. 100 – 108. First Series.

² Constitution of the Univ., App. p. 27.

CHAPTER IV.

ON the resignation of President Hoar, the superintendence of the College was intrusted to the Rev. Urian Oakes, Minister of the church at Cambridge.

This gentleman was born in England; he came with his parents to this country in his childhood, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1649. While very young, he published a set of *Astronomical Calculations*, with this motto in the title-page:

“Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua gratia parvis,”

in which probably he intended, conformably to the taste of the age, a quaint allusion to his *size*, which was small.

He remained here till he took his second degree, and commenced preaching; but soon returned to England. In that country he was at first a chaplain to a person of eminence, was afterwards settled as a minister at Titchfield in Hampshire, and in 1662 became one of the victims of the celebrated Act of Uniformity. On his ejection, he found an asylum in the family of a very respectable gentleman, Col. Norton; but, the violence of the storm in some measure abating, he resumed the duties of the pastoral office, as a colleague with another minister.

So high was his reputation, that the church in Cambridge invited him by a messenger sent to England for the purpose, to be their minister in the place of the "matchless" Mr. Mitchel recently deceased. He accepted the invitation, and, after some unavoidable delays, came over in 1671. "Here," says Cotton Mather, "he had the opportunity, for which Dr. Preston chose rather to preach at Cambridge, than at any other place, "*Dolare non tantum lapides, sed artifices.*"¹ The church kept a day of public thanksgiving to God for his favor in blessing them with such a pastor; a fact quite as much to his honor as Mather's puerile conceit of placing him among the druids, because forsooth, the name of those barbarous priests signified an OAK! On the resignation of President Hoar he consented to act as president *pro tempore*, and officiated in that capacity for some years, declining the offer of a full settlement in the place, and discharging, at the same time, the duties of president and pastor, with great zeal and ability. He was at length prevailed upon to be president in name as well as in fact, and was appointed February 2d, 1680.

He was a man of bright parts, extensive learning, and exalted piety. As a preacher, he was uncommonly eloquent and powerful. He wrote Latin with great purity and elegance, a specimen of which is preserved by Mather in his *Magnalia*, and is a eulogy on the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown. He also had a talent for poetry, as was shown in an elegy on the same person, which, in the opinion of a competent judge, "rises far above the poetry of his day."² With

¹ "To prepare not only stones but builders."

² Dr. Holmes in his *History of Cambridge*. It is presumed, he meant to confine his remark to the poetry of New England.

all his talents and accomplishments, he was remarkable for his good nature and humility. But the College did not long enjoy the benefit of this "admirable person's" services. The next year after he was inaugurated, he died very suddenly of a malignant fever, July 25th, 1681, in the 50th year of his age, and when he had presided over the College but little more than six years.

He published an Election Sermon, an Artillery Election Sermon, two other Sermons, and the Elegy above mentioned.¹

During the time of President Oakes, New England was in a state very unfavorable to the cultivation of literature. Philip's war commenced its frightful ravages the very year after he was placed over the College. So imminent was the danger to which even Cambridge was exposed of an attack from the savages, that, the next year materials were collected for the purpose of fortifying the town against them.

This dreadful war was hardly terminated, when the government of England began that series of vexations, which went on increasing, till, by the dissolution of the charters in 1684 and 1685, despotism itself was, for a period, established in the New-England colonies. But thanks to a protecting Providence, amidst all the surrounding perils and difficulties, this favored "school of the prophets" continued to maintain its ground, to prosper, and to increase. The completion of the spacious brick building in 1677, for which a contribution was obtained at an earlier date, has been already noticed. A most important accession was

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, B. IV. pp. 129 and 186 – 188. Holmes's *Hist. of Cambridge*. Mass. Hist. Coll. VII. pp. 31, and 51 – 54, First Series.

made to the Public Library, in the well-chosen collection of that eminent divine and scholar, the Rev. Theophilus Gale of England ; who, uniting to a benevolent and liberal spirit, great zeal in the cause of non-conformity, bequeathed by his will in 1678 the whole of his estate for the support and propagation of his religious opinions, and with that view left his books to Harvard College, making more than half its library.¹

In the year 1681 the College received a legacy of £1000 sterling, making in the currency of Massachusetts at that time £1234, 2s. 6d. which was bequeathed in 1679 by Sir Matthew Holworthy of England ; in honor of whom a large brick edifice, erected one hundred and thirty years afterwards, was named *Holworthy Hall*.

In 1681 Samuel Ward of Charlestown gave by will an island lying betwixt Hingham and Hull, called *Bumpkin Island*, “ the rent of it to be for the easement of the charges of the dyet of the students that are in Commons.” It contains thirty acres, and agreeably to a wish expressed in the will, is called *Ward Island*.²

There were several other legacies to the College between the presidency of Dr. Hoar and that of Mr. Rogers ; among which may be mentioned, one from Capt. John Hull of £100, one from Mr. Henry Clarke of Hadley of £50, one from Capt. Scarlet of £7 per annum, of which the College never received more than £10 ; one from Richard Russell of £100, of which the College received, in provision, only £31, 13s. 4d. ; — and the following legacies, which were never received ; a thousand acres at Winter Harbour, bequeathed by

¹ Donation Book, I. &c.

² Donation Book, I.

the Rev. Daniel Russell ; 400 acres of land at Billerica, &c., by Edward Jackson ; £20 per annum, by the Rev. Owen Stockton, a dissenting minister in England, for the education of an Indian Preacher, on the happening of an event, which probably never occurred ; £100, and £50 to the Library in books, by Mr. Joseph Brown.

CHAPTER V.

ON the decease of President Oakes, the charge of the College was offered by the Corporation to the Rev. Increase Mather;¹ and application was made by the *Overseers* to his Society for his release; but, their consent not being obtained, he declined the appointment. He officiated, however, at Commencement, and made weekly visits to the college until Mr. John Rogers was chosen to fill the office. He was son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, and was descended from the celebrated martyr, John Rogers, who was burnt at Smithfield in Queen Mary's reign. He came with his father to this country when a child; received his education at Harvard College, and was graduated the same year with President Oakes. His attention was then directed to theology, and he preached for some time at Ipswich; but he afterwards applied himself to the study of medicine. His presidency was not of very long duration. He was inaugurated August 12th, 1683, and died the next year, July 2d, the day after Commencement, in the 54th year of his age.²

He is represented as a remarkably sweet-tempered person and an accomplished gentleman. His death was greatly lamented.

¹ Corporation Records.

² The Rev. Wm. Hubbard of Ipswich, the celebrated historian, was appointed by the *Overseers* to preside at this Commencement. This seems to have been a tribute of respect for his character, as he had no particular connexion with the College. — *Corporation Records*.

A story related by Cotton Mather, while it affords a specimen of the writer's belief in a particular Providence, shows what an idea must have been entertained of the piety of the man, whose praying was thought to be attended with a miraculous interposition of Heaven. "It was his custom to be somewhat *long* in his daily prayers (which our president used to make) with the scholars in the College-Hall. But one day, without being able to give reason of it, he was not so *long*, it may be by half, as he used to be. Heaven knew the *reason*! The scholars, returning to their chambers, found one of them on fire; and the fire had proceeded so far, that if the devotion had held three minutes longer, the College had been irreccverably laid in ashes, which now was happily preserved." ¹

In the year 1682 Sir John Maynard enriched the Library with a large number of books, valued at above £400.

A legacy of £40 was bequeathed to the college by Deacon William Trusdale, and one by Mr. Henry Ashworth of £100 sterling. Whether these two legacies were received, it does not appear.

In 1683 the General Court granted to the College Merricaneag Neck, in Casco Bay, and 1000 acres of land adjoining. The College was engaged in a long and expensive lawsuit on account of this grant; but did not recover.

¹ Mather's Magnalia, Book IV. p. 130.

CHAPTER VI.

THE charge of the College was again confided to the Rev. Increase Mather. Few ministers have been so distinguished in the annals of Massachusetts, civil and ecclesiastical, as this gentleman. And whether his character, his talents and learning, or his services to the state, to the church, or to the University, be considered, few are more entitled to a particular notice.

His father was a dissenting clergyman of note in England, the Rev. Richard Mather, who came to this country in the year 1635, and settled at Dorchester. Increase was the youngest of six sons, of whom one died in childhood, and four became useful and eminent ministers of the gospel.

He was born at Dorchester June 21st, 1639; and was *named* with a pious reference to “the *increase* of every sort, where with God favoured the country, about the time of his nativity.” His mother used to tell him when he was a child, that there were only two things that she desired God to give him, *grace* and *learning*. “Child,” said she, “if God make thee a good Christian and a good scholar, thou hast all that thy mother ever asked for thee.” Among her instructions to him, as he grew up, she particularly inculcated the lesson of diligence, and often put him in mind of these words: “Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men.”¹

¹ Cotton Mather's Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather, p. 1-5.

He entered College at the age of twelve years. When the year arrived, in which he was to take his Bachelor's degree, an order, for some reason or other, was procured, requiring certain classes, of which his was one, to be detained there a large part of a year longer than the usual time. This was so much resented, that seventeen of the students left the College without a degree. Young Mather's father was exceedingly dissatisfied, as were others of the *Overseers*, with this measure; but his connexion with the College was, nevertheless, continued; and in 1656 he proceeded Bachelor of Arts. In his exercise at Commencement he combated Aristotle's philosophy, then prevalent in the schools. President Chauncy, not relishing the "Ramæan strains, in which our young disputant was carrying on his thesis," would have stopped him; but the famous Mr. Mitchel interposed, "*Pergat, quæso, nam doctissime disputat.*"¹

The year after he left college, on his birth-day, and when only eighteen years old, he preached his first sermon, in which he gave promise of future eminence. About this time a letter was received from his eldest brother, the Rev. Samuel Mather, one of the principal ministers in Dublin, encouraging his going to that place; and having a strong inclination for it himself, he obtained the consent of his father, and sailed for England July 3d, 1657. From England he proceeded to Dublin, where, by the advice of his brother, he entered his name in Trinity College, and proceeded Master of Arts, with a high reputation, June 24th, 1658, three years after he was *entitled* to his first degree, and

¹ Remarkables, pp. 14, 15.

when he was only nineteen years old. A fellowship was offered him but he did not accept it.¹

He was invited to several places in Ireland and England; went to great Torrington in Devonshire, and there preached for some time to a numerous assembly and with great acceptance. He passed one month with his brother, Nathaniel Mather, who was an admired preacher at Barnstable.

His subsequent residence was principally in the Island of Guernsey, where he was a chaplain to the English garrison; but being at length required to adopt the service of the Church of England, or leave the island, he chose this part of the alternative and returned to England. He remained about four months at Weymouth and Dorchester, and preached in many places, without any compensation. A living of £400 a year was offered him, if he would conform, and read the Common-prayer; but this he rejected. Other opportunities, which were afforded him, either to remain in England or to travel with gentlemen on the continent, being declined or frustrated, and the times growing more and more unfavorable for the dissenters, he concluded, contrary to his former expectations, to return to this country. He arrived at his father's house in Dorchester in September, 1661, more than four years from the time of his first leaving it to sail for England.²

Invitations now came to him from "as many places, as there are signs for the Sun in the Zodiac." The first winter after his arrival, he preached alternately to the North Church in Boston, and with his father in Dorchester; but afterwards confined his services to the church in Boston; though it was not till May, 1664,

¹ Remarkables, pp. 15 – 17.

² Ibid, pp. 19 – 23.

that he was prevailed upon to be settled. He had nearly two years before married the only daughter of the celebrated John Cotton, who lived with him fifty two years, and made him the father of three sons and seven daughters, all of them, so far as appears, sources of satisfaction to their parents. 'The oldest son' was the celebrated *Cotton Mather*.¹

"The Lord," says an early writer, "hath blessed the family of the *Mathers*, among us, with a singular blessing, in that no less than ten of them have been accepted of him, to serve the Lord and his people, in the ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; of whom, as the Apostle said in another case, though *some are fallen asleep, yet the greater part remain unto this day*. I do not know the like in our New England, and perhaps it will be found rare to parallel the same in other countries." Thus, wrote the venerable John Higginson, of Salem, in his Attestation to Mather's *Magnalia*, prefixed to that work, in 1697. The list might now be swelled.

By the direction of the General Court, a Synod of the churches was held at Boston, in the year 1662, for the purpose, chiefly, of considering the question "who were the subjects of baptism?" It was a question which agitated the whole country; and the decision of the Synod, which, under certain restrictions, allowed that rite to be administered to the children of those who were not communicants, was ably defended and opposed by a number of the leading ministers. Mr. Mather was at first among the opposers of the Synod, and employed his pen against its proceedings; but he afterwards changed his opinion, and ingenuously ac-

¹ Remarkables, pp. 23 - 26.

knowned himself vanquished by the cogent arguments of Mr. Mitchel of Cambridge.¹

Soon after his settlement, his society began to neglect their engagements to him; the consequence of which was, that he suffered greatly from want and was obliged to incur debts, which caused him great disquietude. While writhing under the embarrassments and mortifications of his situation, he had opportunities to extricate himself from his pecuniary difficulties, by removing to other places; but he resisted all the allurements which were held out to him for quitting his people, from an apprehension that this measure, even under such provocations, would injure the cause of religion; and he was rewarded for his patience and perseverance by an alteration in his circumstances, which, in that respect, left him nothing afterwards to desire; so that, whatever he was at any time called upon to do, or wherever to go, he continued the happy pastor of the same flock as long as he lived.²

In the year 1674, the General Court having permitted the establishment of a printing-press, "elsewhere than at Cambridge," the Rev. Thomas Thatcher and the Rev. Increase Mather, of Boston, were added to the former licensers.³

In the autumn of 1679, a period of great public distress and anxiety, another Synod was, on motion of Mr. Mather, convened at Boston, called the *Reforming Synod*. It met again in the ensuing spring. A powerful excitement was produced by the proceedings of these meetings on the subject of morals and religion, for the neglect of which the country was then believed

¹ Remarkables, pp. 50 – 55

² Ibid, pp. 29 – 36.

³ Thomas's Hist. of Printing, vol. i. p. 176.

to be suffering the vengeance of offended Heaven. The part, which Mr. Mather took on these occasions, corresponded to the advice which the Apostle Eliot had given him several years before: "Brother," said the venerable man, "the Lord hath blessed you with a leading spirit, as he did Mr. Mitchel, who has gone unto Him. I pray, brother, lead us in our meetings; bring forward as much good in them as you can."¹

To the honor of religion its best friends are the foes of ignorance; and multitudes, illustrious for their piety, have been foremost in the cultivation of human learning. Mr. Mather was one of that class. About this time "he formed a philosophical society of agreeable gentlemen, who met once a fortnight for a conference upon improvements in Natural Philosophy and additions to the stores of Natural History." From their collections the work of a learned professor at Leyden was enriched with some materials; and communications were also made to the Royal Society of London; but, in consequence of the calamitous state of affairs at that period, this society, which was probably the first of the kind in America, was not of long duration.²

The vacancy in the government of the College between the death of President Oakes and the appointment of President Rogers was supplied by Mr. Mather in the manner that has already been related. After the decease of President Rogers he again filled the office of president, being requested by the *Overseers*, June 11th, 1685, to "take special care for the government of the College and to act as president till a further settlement be orderly made;"³ and at length he was settled in it, but without relinquishing his con-

¹ Remarkables, pp. 81 - 89. ² Ibid, p. 86. ³ Corporation Records.

nexion with the church in Boston ; and for several years he was able to discharge with reputation and usefulness the duties of both relations. ¹

But all these academic and ecclesiastical occupations were increased, and at length, for some years, superseded by other weighty cares of a civil nature. Massachusetts, having incurred the royal displeasure, was called upon by King Charles the Second to surrender to him its charter, and in case of refusal, was threatened with a legal prosecution. The people were thrown into the utmost anxiety and alarm. Their ruin seemed inevitable ; and all that was left to them was, to decide whether it should be their own act or that of the government in England. But were they at liberty to commit this political suicide ? Could they, without a violation of the laws of Heaven, voluntarily lay their rights and privileges at the feet of their sovereign, and cast themselves upon his mercy for every thing they held most dear ? This question was proposed to Mr. Mather, and answered in the negative. He afterwards declared the same opinion at a meeting of the freemen of Boston, which was convened for the purpose of voting instructions to their delegates in the General Court, and which he had been invited to attend. His speech on this “case of conscience,” as it shows the spirit and genius of the age as well as of the man, the reader will not be displeased to see at large : “As the question is now stated, *whether you will make a full submission and entire resignation of your charter and the privileges of it unto his Majesty’s pleasure*, I verily believe, we shall sin against the God of Heaven, if we vote an

¹ Remarkables, pp. 169 – 174.

affirmative unto it. The Scripture teacheth us otherwise. We know what Jephthah said, *That which the Lord our God has given us, shall we not possess it?* And though *Naboth* ran a great hazard by the refusal, yet he said, *God forbid that I should give away the inheritance of my fathers!* Nor would it be wisdom for us to comply. We know *David* made a wise choice, when he chose to fall into the *hands of God* rather than into the *hands of men*. If we make a full submission and entire resignation to pleasure, we fall into the *hands of men* immediately. But if we do it not, we still keep ourselves in the *hands of God*; we trust ourselves with his providence; and who knows what God may do for us? There are also examples before our eyes, the consideration whereof should be of weight with us. Our brethren hard by us; — what have they gained, by being so ready to part with their liberties, but an acceleration of their miseries? And we hear from London, that when it came to, the loyal citizens would not make a *full submission and entire resignation to pleasure*, lest their posterity should curse them for it. And shall *we* then do such a thing? I hope there is not one freeman in *Boston*, that can be *guilty* of it! However, I have discharged my conscience, in what I have thus declared unto you.”

“Upon this pungent speech, many of the freemen fell into tears; and there was a general acclamation, *We thank you, Sir! We thank you, Sir!* The question was upon the vote carried in the negative, *nemine contradicente*; and this act of *Boston* had a great influence upon all the country.”¹

¹ Remarkables, pp. 89 – 92.

Mr. Mather did not give this spirited counsel, with impunity. The agents of the Court became his inveterate enemies; base arts were practised to harass and injure him.

A long letter, containing sentiments offensive to persons in power, was even forged, in his name, for that purpose, and directed to a person in Amsterdam. This letter, being intercepted, was read before the King and Council; and it was proposed to have him brought to England for trial and punishment; but a suspicion that the letter was forged, or some other cause, saved him from this peril. Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was reflected upon in the letter, appears to have taken no further notice of it, than to ask contemptuously, "whether that star-gazer wrote it;" alluding to a discourse which Mr. Mather had written upon *comets*.¹

The charter of Massachusetts was annulled; and New England was committed to the arbitrary disposal of a small number of men, at the head of whom was first the Hon. Joseph Dudley as President, and afterwards Sir Edmund Andros, as Governor. They conducted themselves in the most tyrannical manner. The rights and privileges of the people were trampled under foot. Their oppressions became so intolerable, that the principal gentlemen of the province determined to send an agent to England, and lay their grievances before the King himself. Mr. Mather was selected, as a suitable person for that office.

As soon as this was known it gave great alarm to the tyrants; and they determined, if possible, to prevent it. Mr. Mather had expressed a suspicion that the notorious *Randolph* was the author of the *forged*

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. I. p. 366.

Remarkables, pp. 92 – 95.

letter before mentioned. Randolph took this opportunity to prosecute him for defamation; but, in spite of all his artifices, Mather was acquitted. Not deterred by this failure, Randolph sent an officer to arrest him again, upon the same charge. Mather, being apprized of it, kept upon his guard; changed his dress, when he removed from his house; and at length, with no little management, was conveyed on board a ship, which carried him to England in the spring of 1688.¹

It would be going too far from the purpose of this narrative, to give a minute relation of all the transactions, in which he was engaged, during the four years he remained abroad in the service of his country. Suffice it to say, that "he stood before kings"; that he had several interviews, first with King James the Second, and afterwards with King William and Queen Mary; that he labored with great assiduity, fidelity, and perseverance; that three other persons were associated with him in the agency; and that a charter was at length obtained of King William, which, though it withheld some of the privileges enjoyed under the old charter, was more comprehensive in its provisions, than that instrument, and, considering all circumstances, was, perhaps, as favorable to the province, as could have been reasonably expected. The agents were allowed by the King to nominate a person for the first Governor under this charter.² They nominated their countryman, Sir William Phipps, who was appointed. Mr. Mather soon afterwards left England, and arrived

¹ Remarkables, pp. 93 – 108.

² "The nomination of the officers reserved to the Crown was left for the first time to the agents, or rather to Mr. Mather, who was considered as *instar omnium*." — Hutchinson's Hist. I. p. 413.

at Boston with the first royal governor in the spring of 1692.

The new charter was far from giving entire satisfaction ; but it relieved the people from the evils they endured or dreaded, secured the most important interests of the colony, and was on the whole so acceptable, that the General Assembly passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Mather for his faithful and laborious services, and appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving for his safe return and that of his Excellency the Governor. ¹

During his residence in England, Mr. Mather did not omit the exercise of his clerical functions ; he preached often, and with great acceptance. He also availed himself of the opportunities, which were afforded him for serving the College ; he obtained donations to it ; he became acquainted with the excellent Thomas Hollis of London, and seems to have made the first opening for the flood of benefits, which some years afterwards poured in upon it so copiously from that fountain of benevolence. ² But the principal *immediate* benefit, which the institution owed to his care, was obtained from the King. After the Colony was deprived of its charter, such doctrines were set up in relation to the grants which had been made under it, that fears were entertained for the safety of Harvard College ; but though there was an occasional interference in its government by the royal functionaries, it was not deprived of its property or of its essential rights. ³ The friends of the College, however, were anxious that it should be placed on a more secure foundation in fu-

¹ Remarkables, pp. 109 – 161.

² Remarkables, pp. 147, 151, 170; and Douglas's Summary, I. p. 546.

³ Constitution of Harv. Col., App.

ture ; and a provision for that purpose was happily inserted in the new charter. ¹

¹ "In 1686," says Dr. Mather in his letter to Gov. Dudley, "when you accepted of an illegal arbitrary commission from the late King James, you said, that the cow was dead, and therefore the calf in her belly; meaning the charter of the college and colony." — Mass. Hist. Coll. III. p. 126, First Series.

CHAPTER VII.

IN the absence of President Mather, his parochial duties were discharged by his son, *Cotton Mather*, who had been ordained as his colleague in the year 1684; and “the College flourished under the prudent government of two tutors, Mr. John Leverett and Mr. William Brattle.”¹ For some years he had the title of *Rector*, which was given him by Mr. *Dudley*, who was *President* of the Colony; but it is probable he now resumed the appellation of *President*.²

One of the first steps, taken by the friends of the College, after President Mather's return, was to obtain from the General Assembly a new act of incorporation, for the purpose of giving the College still further security, as well as of enlarging its privileges. Such an act was passed June 27, 1692. It was disallowed by the King in Council, “on the ground of its not providing for a visitation of the King by his governor. Two other acts were passed, one in 1697 and one in 1700, in which the Governor and Council were made visitors; but this was not satisfactory.”³

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, Book IV. p. 131, (not in the “*Remarkables*,” this book having been written twenty two years after, when Cotton Mather had become hostile to Leverett.)

² *Constit. Harv. Coll.*, App. p. 21. — When Mr. Dudley was “*President* of New England, for distinction, the *President* of the College was called *rector*.” *Douglas's Summary*, I. p. 546.

³ *Constit. Harv. Coll.*, App. p. 22.

“It is stated that in all these acts the Board of Overseers was omitted, and, as a substitution therefor, the number of the Corporation was enlarged;” and that “in the interval, while the royal signature to these several acts was awaited from England, the College was organized upon several of the new plans successively.”¹

Among the powers, granted by them, which did not exist or were not exercised, under the former charter, was that of conferring the degree of *Doctor*. In the same year the first of these acts was passed, and while it was in force, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was bestowed on President Mather. This was the first instance of the kind in British America; nor did any other person receive a doctorate at Harvard University till seventy-nine years afterwards, when the same degree was conferred on the Rev. Mr. Appleton of Cambridge.²

His time was now principally devoted to the college. He passed Sunday with his church in Boston, and visited Cambridge on all the other days of the week. His services were assiduous and faithful. The moral and religious instruction of the students had his particular attention. The College appears to have been in a flourishing condition while he was at its head.³ Its numbers increased, and it was enriched, in no small degree, by the hand of munificence. It experienced one instance of bounty, which probably exceeded, in amount, any ever bestowed upon it by a single individual before that time. The Hon. William Stoughton, Lieut. Governor and Chief Justice of Massachusetts, a gentleman of a

¹ Memorial of the Resident Instructors in 1824, p. 14.

² Remarkables, pp. 170 – 172. — Holmes's History of Cambridge in Mass. Hist. Coll. VII. p. 60, First Series.

³ Remarkables, pp. 169 – 173.

distinguished name in the annals of the province, was at the sole expense of erecting, for the accommodation of the students, a spacious edifice of brick, which, in honor of this liberal benefactor, was named Stoughton Hall, and will be more particularly noticed hereafter.¹

It is evident, however, that there were persons of influence in the province, who, for some reason or other, were not unwilling that President Mather should retire; and in 1701 an order was passed by the General Court, “that no man should act as president of the College, who did not reside at Cambridge.” The consequence was, that on the 6th of September of the same year he resigned his office.²

Study, the publication of books, and the concerns of his church occupied almost exclusively the twenty-two years of life, which yet remained to him. A flattering request, made to him in 1715 by the ministers of the province, to go to England with an address from them to King George the First, on his accession to the throne, was declined.³ His old age was blessed with the inestimable satisfaction, which flow from faith and hope, and from a vigorous state of exercise of the faculties and affections. He died August 23d, 1723, in the eighty-fifth year of his age; and was interred with all the honors due to his character and to the rank he had so long held in society.⁴ He had been a preacher sixty-six years, during sixty-two of which he was connected with the North Church in Boston.

Dr. Mather’s mental endowments were of a superior order; his learning was extensive; his affections were lively and strong; he excelled as a preacher, possessed

¹ Coll. Records, &c. This building stood about 80 years. Its removal and the erection of new Stoughton Hall will be noticed hereafter.

² Remarkables, p. 73.

³ Ibid. p. 194.

⁴ Ibid.

an ardent spirit of devotion, and was diligent, active, and resolute in the discharge of the various and important duties, which Providence from time to time assigned him. He was a benevolent man. One tenth, at least, of his income was applied to objects of charity.¹

He was a friend to toleration ; his sentiments on this subject became more liberal as he advanced in age ; he even assisted at an ordination in a society of *baptists*,—a sect, which, in his younger days, he must have been taught to regard with abhorrence ; and the conclusion was at length established in his mind, that persecution was an unwise and unchristian mode of propagating religion.²

He maintained an habitual seriousness of temper, though on fit occasions he could be pleasant and facetious. His manners were those of a gentleman ; and there was a remarkable gravity in his deportment, which commanded the reverence of those who approached him.³

He was not, however, without his weaknesses ; but they were, for the most part such, as find their apology in the genius and spirit of the times in which he lived. He appears to have been affected quite enough by *ungrateful* returns for his services ; and had no very moderate sense of his own importance and merits, as was particularly shown in an angry letter which he wrote to Governor Dudley in 1708.⁴

His piety was not untinged with enthusiasm and credulity. He at times experienced strange impres-

¹ Remarkables, p. 184. ² Ibid. p. 55, 61. ³ Ibid. p. 39 – 41, 185, 186.

⁴ Mass. Hist. Coll. III. p. 126 – 128. Remarkables, p. 174.

sions, or *afflations*, which he believed to be supernatural, and which vented themselves in oracular predictions of coming judgments or mercies. These predictions were of course marvellously fulfilled. The “*strong impression* on his mind, that the drinking of the *mineral waters* at a spring in *Lynn*, then famous through the country,” would be of service to him, at a time when he was in a feeble state of health,¹ may not be an instance in point; but several instances are, with great particularity, related by his son, whose credulity seems at least equal to his father’s, respecting which there will be no dispute. One of them may amuse, if it does not instruct. “In the year 1676, he had a strange impression on his mind, that caused him, Nov. 19th, to preach a sermon on Zeph. iii. 7, and conclude with a strange prediction, that a *fire* was a coming which would make a deplorable desolation.” He afterwards meditated, and wept, and prayed upon the subject in his study; and the next Lord’s day, gave his people *warning* of the impending judgment. “The very night following, a desolating *fire* broke forth in his neighbourhood. The house, in which he with his flock had praised God, was burnt with fire. Whole streets were consumed in the devouring flames and laid in ashes.”²

He was a believer in witchcraft, though he did not approve of condemning accused persons on what was called the *spectre-evidence*, being of opinion, that an evil spirit might, for wise purposes, be sometimes permitted to assume the appearance of an innocent person. He accordingly opposed the horrible proceedings of the memorable year 1692; and published a

¹ Remarkables, p. 70.² Ibid. pp. 78, 79.

treatise which is said to have aided in putting a stop to them.¹ In this respect he was in truth superior to his age, and ought rather to be admired for his wisdom and courage; for he was one of a few, who resisted a mighty torrent which threatened to desolate the whole country.

He had great faith in signs and prodigies. Comets were regarded by him as “preachers of divine wrath”; his *Discourse* concerning those bodies is little else than a catalogue of inundations, earthquakes, wars, and other calamitous events, attending them, from a period just before the *flood* down to the *ill-starred* year 1682, in which he wrote that learned book; and his sermons, entitled, “Heaven’s Alarm to the World,” and “The Latter Sign,” were delivered upon the appearance of “a formidable blazing-star.”

Dr. Mather lived to see more rational ideas beginning to prevail respecting *comets*. *Cotton Mather* in his “Christian Philosopher” (p. 43), published in 1721, two years before his father’s death, after mentioning a speculation of Newton’s respecting those bodies, observes: “If this be so, the appearance of *comets* is not so dreadful a thing, as the *Cometomantia*, generally prevailing, has represented it.”

But in estimating an eminent person’s character it is perhaps unfair to lessen its worth by deductions, which would not have been made by his contemporaries; or to take him out of his own age, and try him by the partial standard of another. Who is there, even in this age of light and refinement, that would not suffer, justly suffer in some respects, if subjected to such a

¹ Remarkables, pp. 161 – 169. Brattle’s Account in Mass. Hist. Coll. V. p. 192, First Series.

test? However this may be, a man's rank is among those, with whom he lives and acts; and it is related of Dr. Mather, that "he was the father of the New-England clergy, and that his name and character were held in veneration, not only by those who knew him, but by succeeding generations."¹

His publications were numerous, and were greatly esteemed. With the exception of a few, they were upon religious subjects. He wrote some tracts in favor of inoculation for the small-pox, which, but a year or two before his decease, was, on the suggestion of his son, *Cotton Mather*, introduced into the new world by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston of Boston, with the support of the clergy of Massachusetts, but in opposition to most of the physicians and of the multitude.²

It has been above observed (page 64) that during the presidency of Dr. Mather, the College was enriched by the hand of munificence. Among the donations, the following may be mentioned.³

Mr. Robert Thorner of Baddesly, in the county of Southampton, bequeathed to Harvard College £500 sterling; the greater part, and probably the whole of which was received.

The fund for *Exhibitions* was increased by a legacy, in 1687, from Mr. William Brown, Sen., of £100, "to be improved for the bringing up of poor scholars"; and by a grant, in 1696, from the Hon. Samuel Sewall, of a farm at Petaquamscot in the Narraganset country, containing 500 acres more or less, for the support of indigent students, "especially such as shall be sent

¹ Eliot's Biographical Dictionary, Art. *Incr. Mather*.

² Mass. Mag. for 1779, p. 777.

³ Donation Book, II.

from Petaquamscot aforesaid, English or Indians, if any such there be.”¹

The Society for Propagating the Gospel in New-England, having obtained from the estate of its late president, the Hon. Robert Boyle, a charity of £90 sterling per annum, ordered in 1697, that one half of it should be transmitted to the President and Fellows of Harvard College and to their successors, to be applied for the support of two ministers employed in teaching the natives the Christian religion.

Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson gave to the College £10, New-England money, in 1698 ; with a promise to give the same sum annually, “as long as the government there should be such as he approved of.” This annuity was paid during his life, from 1698 to 1717, inclusive, making twenty years.

Mr. Nathaniel Hulton of London bequeathed £100 sterling, being £130, Massachusetts currency ; and Mr. Thomas Gunston of Stock-Newington gave £50 sterling.

The Rev. Edmund Brown of Sudbury bequeathed £100 to the College. This legacy was sued for in 1693 ; an execution was levied on seventeen acres of pasture land in Cambridge belonging to Mr. Samuel Goffe, executor ; but the College does not appear to have been ever benefited by it

But by far the greatest benefaction during this Presidency was from Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, who, at an expense of £1000, erected, in 1699, an edifice of brick called in honor of him, *Stoughton Hall*. “It contained sixteen chambers for students, but no public apartments. Its length was one hundred, and its breadth

¹ Donation Book, I.

twenty feet. Being originally an unsubstantial piece of masonry, it grew weak by age, and was finally taken down in 1780.” It is said to have been injured by the great earthquake in 1755.¹

The following inscription was on the front of old Stoughton-Hall:

DEO OPT. MAX. BONISQ. LITERIS S.
GULIELMUS STOUGHTON ARMIGER PROVINCIAE
MASSACHUSET. NOV-ANGLORUM VICE-GUBERNATOR
COLLEGII HARVARDINI OLIM ALUMNUS
SEMPER PATRONUS FECIT
ANNO DOMINI 1699.²

¹ See further particulars in the *Columbian Magazine*, for 1788, p. 673. For a description of Harvard Hall, burnt in 1764, see the same Article.

[The Editor has been informed by a near relative, now deceased, and who was in college at the time, that the walls of Stoughton Hall had then begun to settle and lean considerably; and that the shock of the earthquake restored them to their perpendicular direction.]

² Donation Book, I.

CHAPTER -VIII.

ON the very day that President Mather quitted the superintendence of the College, the Rev. Samuel Willard of Boston entered upon it under the title of *Vice-President*.

The father of this distinguished clergyman was Mr. Simon Willard, a gentleman of respectable standing both in civil and military life. Samuel was graduated at Harvard College in 1659. He was afterwards settled in the ministry at Groton; but the ravages of Philip's war, which destroyed that place and scattered his flock, drove him to Boston about the year 1676.

“The providence,” says Dr. Pemberton, “that occasioned his removal to this place, was an awful judgment upon the whole land; yet it was eventually a mercy in this respect, that it made way for the translation of this bright star to a more conspicuous orb; where his influence was more extensive and beneficial; and in this it was a great blessing to this congregation, to this town, nay, to all New-England.”¹ Great indeed, in the estimation of his contemporaries, must have been that merit, which could authorize one of the wisest of them to intimate, that his removal to Boston was any compensation for the disasters of that terrible Indian War! He was settled as a colleague with Mr. Thacher, the first minister of the Old South Church,

¹ Pemberton's Sermons, p. 137.

April 10th, 1678, (March 31st, old style);¹ and in 1700 Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton was chosen his assistant.

Notwithstanding the order that had been recently passed, his connexion with the church in Boston appears to have been continued after his appointment to the charge of the College; and this circumstance will probably account for his having the title of *Vice-President*; and never having been inaugurated.² He officiated as President six years, when he was removed by death, September 12th, 1707, in the 68th year of his age.³

The sermon, preached on the death of this eminent person, by his colleague Mr. Pemberton, is referred to by some distinguished writers, as containing “his just character.”⁴ The following passage is a brief summary of it: “In him bountiful Heaven was pleased to cause a concurrence of all those natural and acquired, moral and spiritual excellencies, which are necessary to constitute a *great man*, a profound *divine*, a very considerable *scholar*, and an heavenly *Christian*. In the light and influence of these perfections he appeared as a star of the first magnitude in the orb of the church.” To all these talents and accomplishments, if, indeed, not included in them, he added “a *natural genius* and *spirit*, which seemed superior to all narrow and selfish interests,” and “a *native modesty*, which might seem to some to veil the brightness of some of his public appearances; though in the opinion of others it was but a

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. IX. p. 193, First Series.

² [At this place Mr. Peirce has made the following note, in pencil, on the margin of his Manuscript: “Enquire further about this.” — EDIT.]

³ Eliot's Biographical Dictionary, art. *S. Willard*. “He was taken at dinner in his study, so that he quickly grew delirious.” — Chief Justice Sewall's *MS. Diary*, under date of April 9th, 1707.

⁴ Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, Dr. Chauncy.

foil to his greater excellencies.”¹ The Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, says, “He was an hard student, of great learning for that day, of a clear head, solid judgment, excellent both in preaching and in prayer, an exemplary Christian, pleasant in conversation, whose name is had in remembrance among us, and his works praise him.”²

His publications were numerous. “No divine,” says Dr. Eliot, “except Dr. Cotton Mather, in this country, prepared more works for the press; and they were all calculated to do honor to the writer, and edify pious people.”³ They were principally sermons, and tracts on controversial divinity. He wrote also on witchcraft; and was one of the few clergymen, who stemmed the torrent of delusion in 1692. His largest work, entitled, “A Compleat Body of Divinity” &c., was published in 1726. It is said to have been the first *folio* volume of divinity that was printed in the country.⁴ The preface is signed by *Joseph Sewall* and *Thomas Prince*, two of the most eminent divines and scholars in the province; and, in recommending the work, they might well observe, “We need only say—’*T is Mr. Willard’s*”; for, surely, a more decisive proof can hardly be imagined of a man’s credit in the world, and of the value attached to his performances, than the mere fact, that a folio volume containing more than 900 pages of speculative theology, should have issued from the press nineteen years after the author’s death! A late Orthodox writer, in speaking of this work, observes, “Though it appears under some of the disadvantages usually attending posthumous publications, it must be allowed to possess great merit. Few

¹ Pemberton’s Sermons, pp. 131, 132.

² Mass. Hist. Coll. X. p. 168, First Series.

³ Eliot’s Biog. Dict. art. *Willard*.

⁴ See its Preface, p. i.

systems of theoretic and practical divinity are to be found, even at the present day, exhibiting such a variety of matter, such a compass and depth of thought, and such an intimate acquaintance with the word of God.”¹

The importance of a *name* is, also, somewhat discernible in the following anecdote, ; though, no doubt, the whimsical occurrence was very much owing to the cause assigned by the writer. The Rev. Samuel Treat of Eastham married a daughter of Mr. Willard, and was sometimes invited to preach in his pulpit. “Mr. Willard possessed a graceful delivery, a masculine and harmonious voice ; and though he did not gain much reputation by his ‘Body of Divinity’ which is frequently sneered at, *particularly by those who have not read it*, yet in his sermons are strength of thought and energy of language. The natural consequence was, that he was generally admired. Mr. Treat, having preached one of his best discourses to the congregation of his father-in-law, in his usual unhappy manner, excited universal disgust ; and several nice judges waited on Mr. Willard, and begged that Mr. Treat, who was a worthy, pious man, it was true, but a wretched preacher, might never be invited into his pulpit again. To this request Mr. Willard made no reply : but he desired his son-in-law to lend him the discourse ; which being left with him he delivered it, without alteration, to his people a few weeks after. The hearers were charmed ; they flew to Mr. Willard, and requested a copy for the press. See the difference, they cried, between yourself and your son-in-law ; you have preached a sermon on the same text as

¹ Panoplist, III. pp. 100, 101.

Mr. Treat's ; but whilst his was contemptible, yours is excellent."¹

If this story detracts from Mr. Willard's merits in one respect, it adds as much to them in another ; if it casts any doubt on his superiority as a writer, it raises a high opinion of his skill, and temper, and magnanimity ; it is, in a word, a specimen of that true *wisdom*, for which he was famous, and which manifested itself in his government of the College and in the various transactions, in which he was engaged.

In the early part of his presidency, the printing-establishment, which was nearly coëval with the College, was abandoned. Samuel Green, who had conducted it, with great reputation, for about 50 years, died January 1st, 1702, aged 87 years. Soon after his decease the printing-materials were removed from Cambridge ; and it was a long time before any printing was done in this place again.²

The munificence of the Hon. William Stoughton, in erecting the building called by his name, has been al-

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. VIII. p. 182, First Series.

² 1704 — "The Boston News-Letter, a weekly Gazette, was first published this year. This was the first News-paper published in America." — Holmes's *Annals*, II. p. 490 ; and *Mass. Hist. Coll.* V. 208, *First Series*. "Judge Sewall (MS. Diary) mentions, that he went to Cambridge April 24, and that he gave Mr. Willard [President] the first News-Letter that ever was carried over the river." — Note on the same page of Holmes's *Annals*.

Printing was stopped in Cambridge by the decease of Samuel Green. Though he has been erroneously mentioned as the "first who printed in New England, or in North America," Daye having been the first, yet he begun very early. "He was unknown as a printer until about 1649." He was a printer about 50 years. Printing had been carried on in Cambridge 60 years. He was printer to the College as long as he continued business. "Soon after his decease the printing-materials were removed from Cambridge, and probably sold." He had nineteen children

ready noticed. His will, in 1702, contained evidence of his unabated regard for the interests of education, and for Harvard College, “the place,” says he, “of my first public education, which nursery of good learning has been an inestimable blessing to the churches and people of God in this wilderness, and may ever continue so to be, if this people continue in the favour of God.” Not to mention the provision he makes for the support of the school in the town of Dorchester, his native place, nor his directions for the special appropriation of a part of the revenue of Stoughton Hall, he bequeathed a pasture in Dorchester, containing 23 acres, and four acres of marsh, “the income of both to be *exhibited*, in the first place, to a scholar of the town of Dorchester, and if there be none such, to one of the town of Milton, and in want of such, then to any other well deserving, that shall be most needy.”¹

by two wives. He had the command of the Cambridge militia company, was many years town clerk, was a pious and benevolent man, and was greatly esteemed. — Thomas’s *History of Printing*, I. pp. 235 – 263.

¹ Donation Book, I.

CHAPTER IX.

THE execution of the order of 1701, which required the President to reside at Cambridge, and which was the immediate occasion of Dr. Mather's resignation, was, whether from necessity or choice, evaded by the appointment of Mr. Willard as *Vice-President*; but it was now determined that the College should no longer be subjected to the disadvantages resulting from the non-residence and divided attention of its head; and accordingly the successor of Mr. Willard was brought within the letter of the rule by being elected *President*.

It may be interesting, at least to the sons of Harvard, to see a particular account of the proceedings upon that occasion. The following paper shows what was done by the Fellows.

“To his Excellency Jos: Dudley, Esq., Capt: Gen: and Governour in Chief, &c. The humble Addresse of the Fellows of Harvard Coll. in Cambridge, shewith,

“That we have, according to the Rules of our House, unanimously declared our Desires that the future Heads of this Colledge may be resident, and, as Resident Presidents were aunciently wont to doe, may govern the Students and serve them with Divinity Expositions, &c. and in Pursuance thereof, we have chosen the Honorable John Leveret, Esq. our next President; of whome we have good Confidence that he will (when accepted and subsisted) lay aside and decline all inter-

fering Offices and Employments, and devote himself to said Work, and by the Divine Help be a very able and faithfull Instrument to promote the Holy Religion here practised and established, by instructing and fitting for our Pulpitts and Churches and other publick and useful Services such as shall in this School of the Prophets be committed to his Care and Charge. We recommend the said Honorable Person as our President to your Excellency's favorable Acceptation, and pray that You would present him to the Honorable General Assembly and move for his honorable Subsistence.

“If your Excellency thinks fitt, so we rest your Excellencys most humble servants.

“*Harvard Coll. in Cambridge, Oct. 28, 1707,*
JAMES ALLEN, *Senior Fellow.*”

“Voted, That the Revd. Mr. Allen, the Senior Fellow, sign the abbove Address, and present the same to his Excellency, in the name of the Fellows of Harvard Colledge, and Mr. Treasurer with the Fellows living in Boston, are desired to accompany the Revd. Mr. Allen, when he waits upon the Governour with the said Address.”¹

At the time when the General Court acted upon this application, they decided a point of no less importance, than that of fixing the constitution of the College, after it had been for above twenty years in a condition of hazardous dependence on the will of the civil rulers. The several attempts to obtain a new charter having, as has been already seen, proved abortive, and there being no prospect of succeeding in any future attempt of the kind, the inexpediency of keeping

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. IV. p. 64, Second Series.

the institution any longer in an unsettled state was now so obvious, as to induce a recurrence to the old charter for the rule of its future government. The General Court accordingly voted, in December, 1707, that, as the Act of 1650, establishing the Corporation of Harvard College, had "not been repealed or nulled, the President and Fellows of the said College are directed from time to time, to regulate themselves according to the rules of the Constitution by the act prescribed." They also granted to the President elect a salary of 150*l*, "to be paid annually out of the public treasury during his continuance in said office, residing at Cambridge and discharging the proper duties to a President belonging, and entirely devoting himself to that service." ¹

So loose had been the management of the College, that, at the time this vote was passed, the *Corporation*, if it might be called by that name, consisted of fourteen members. The number was now reduced to that required by the charter; and the names of the five fellows retained are those first on the list of *Socii* in the Triennial Catalogue, no names of fellows, before that period, being found in that list.

Mr. Leverett "was by the Governor, at the head of the Overseers, declared President January 14, 1708."

The following particulars of his induction into office appear in the Records of the Overseers.

"Cambridge, Wednesday, January 14, 1707-8. Present in the College Library, His Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq. Governor.

¹ Prince's Const. of Harv. Coll. p. 14.

“ OVERSEERS.

“ *Of the Honourable Council. The Reverend Ministers.*

James Russell
 Samuel Sewal
 Isa'c Addington
 John Phillips
 Joseph Lynde, Esqr's.
 Eli'm Hutchinson
 Pen Townsend
 Andr. Belcher
 Edw'd Bromfield
 Simeon Stoddard

Mr. W'm. Brattle, *Cambr.*
 Mr. Sim. Bradstreet, *Charlest.*
 Mr. Benj. Wadsworth, }
 Mr. Eben. Pemberton, } *Bost.*
 Mr. Ben. Colman, }
 Mr. Samuel Angier, *Watert.*
 Mr. Jno. Danforth, *Dorch.*

“ FELLOWS OF THE HOUSE. RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Mr. John Leverett, *Presid't.*
 Mr. Neh. Hobart
 Mr. Wm. Brattle
 Mr. Eben. Pemberton
 Mr. Henry Flynt
 Mr. Jonath. Remington
 Mr. Th. Brattle, *Treasurer.*

Mr. Henry Flynt
 Mr. Jona. Remington
 Mr. John Whiting

“ His Excellency, attended by Mr. President, the Overseers, and Fellows, went into the Hall, and, in presence of the Schollars and a numerous company of gentlemen, from several parts, declared Mr. Jno. Leverett to be the Rev'd President of Harvard Colledge ; and, delivering him the books and keys, put the care of that Seminary into his hands agreeable to the choice of the Fellows of the House, approbation of the Overseers, and votes of the Council and Assembly in their last session, with the usual formalitys directing him to govern that House and the Scholars there with duty and allegiance to our Sovereign Lady the Queen and obedience to her Majesty's Laws.”

On this event two distinguished clergymen of Boston, the Rev. Increase Mather, and his son, the Rev. Cotton Mather, appear to have lost all patience. Between

them, and Governor Dudley and his friends, great hostility had existed for several years.

Of its cause and virulence some idea may be formed by the following extract from Dr. Cotton Mather's private diary :

"June 16, 1702. I received a visit from Governour Dudley. Among other things that I said to him I used these words : ' Sir, you arrive to the government of a people, that have their various and their divided apprehensions about many things, and particularly about your own government over them. I am humbly of opinion, that it will be your wisdom to carry an indifferent hand towards all parties, if I may use so coarse a word as parties ; and give occasion to none to say, that any have monopolized you, or that you take your measures from them alone. I will explain myself with the freedom and the justice, perhaps not with the prudence, that you may expect from me. I will do no otherwise than I would be done to. I should be content, I would approve it and commend it, if any one should say to your Excellency, *By no means let any people have cause to say, that you take all your measures from the two Mr. Mathers.* By the same rule I may say, without offence, *By no means let any people say, that you go by no measures, in your conduct, but Mr. Byfield's and Mr. Leverett's.* This I speak not from any personal prejudice against the gentlemen ; but from a due consideration of the disposition of the people, and as a service to your Excellency.'

"The WRETCH went unto those men and told them that I had advised him to be no ways advised by them ; and inflamed them into an implacable rage against me." ¹

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. III. p. 137, First Series.

Notwithstanding this, Cotton Mather, conscious, it should seem, of his great talents and learning, but not of his equally remarkable defects, had expected, through the influence probably of the popular party in the state, to be made president of the College. But he was disappointed; Governor Dudley persuaded his friend Leverett to accept the office.

Six days after the appointment was announced, those gentlemen wrote, each of them, a most acrimonious letter to the Governor, presenting him with a frightful picture of his character and conduct, and warning him of the judgments that awaited his enormities. The letters were most extraordinary ones to be addressed to the chief magistrate of a country. Well might Governor Dudley say, in his spirited and dignified reply, "The contents, both as to matter and manner, astonish me to the last degree. I must think you have extremely forgot your own station, as well as my character." There is little in their letters respecting the College; all the distinct mention of it is in the following paragraph from the elder Mr. Mather's. "I am afraid that you cannot clear yourself from the guilt of much hypocrisy and falseness in the affair of the College. In 1686, when you accepted of an illegal, arbitrary commission from the late King James, you said, that the cow was dead, and therefore the calf in her belly; meaning the charter of the College and Colony. You said (and truly enough), that it was not in the power of that government to constitute a corporation, it being contrary to a maxim in law, for a corporation to make a corporation. And all writers, who handle the subject, say, that a College cannot be erected without sovereign authority. But how much have you of late, to serve a design, said and done contrary

to your former assertions ! What an happiness would it have been to the country, and a glory to the College, to have had what was by the General Assembly in my Lord Bellamont's time, sent to and confirmed by the royal authority. It is your fault, Sir, that it has not been done. For both Mr. Blaithwait and Mr. Phips wrote, that, if you desired it, the thing would be immediately dispatched. You promised me you would endeavour it ; yet some of the representatives told me at the same time, that you promised them the contrary. And I have been informed, that you have discouraged the matter from proceeding by letters home. Alas ! Sir, your friends are not faithful as they ought to be. Some, whom you have promoted, will backbite you, and say you are the falsest man in the world. But which of them have attended the divine precept, Lev. xix. 17."

Though, in the catalogue of the Governor's misdeeds, his overruling Mr. Mather's pretensions to the presidency is not distinctly noted, it is manifest, not only from the tone of the letters, and from the circumstances attending them, but from some passages in the Governor's reply, that this was the particular occasion of their being written. In one place the Governor says : "Every one can see through the pretence, and is able to account for the spring of these letters, and how they would have been prevented, without easing any grievances you complain of." In another : "I desire you will keep your station, and let fifty or sixty good ministers, your equals in the Province, have a share in the government of the *College*, and advise thereabouts as well as yourselves, and I hope all will be well." Again : "I am an honest man, and have lived religiously these forty years, to the satis-

faction of the ministers in New England; and your wrath against me is cruel, and will not be justified. A few days before the fleet arrived, by your conference and letters, I was, you told me, in favor of all good men, and might expect the consolation of a faithful stewardship; but now the letter in the *Observer* must be defended, and *the College* must be disposed against the opinion of all the ministers in New England, except yourselves, or the Governour torn in pieces. This is the view I have of your inclination.”¹

Governor Dudley's desire seems to have been satisfied. Those two eminent men seldom or never attended the meetings of the Overseers, during President Leverett's time; and, though Cotton Mather had been named as a member of the Corporation in some or all of the acts of the General Court, by which the number of the Fellows was increased, and therefore has *Socius* affixed to his name in the College Catalogue, he was not elected into that body under the Act of 1650; “but he had the mortification to see Dr. Colman and Mr. Brattle, men who were not even on friendly terms with him, members of the Corporation, and all College affairs under their influence. He complained bitterly of this thing in his diaries.”²

There appears to have been no reason to regret the appointment of Mr. Leverett. From all the accounts and documents we have, it was the most judicious and fortunate one that could have been made. His presidency was successful and brilliant. There was much, it is true, in the circumstances of the country, and in the arrangements of Providence, that was on the

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. III. pp. 126 – 137.

² Eliot's Biog. Dict., art. *Leverett*, p. 298.

whole propitious to the interests of the College at that period. Massachusetts, notwithstanding its political agitations, being freed from the ravages of Indian wars, excepting in its remote settlements, and no longer suffering the miseries of arbitrary rule, was advancing in wealth and population. Hence an accession to the College of patronage and of students. Even the establishment of a rival institution, in Yale College, founded in 1700, though it occasioned some diversion from Cambridge to New Haven, had probably on the whole a favorable influence on this ancient seat of learning.

But the bounty of Heaven descends with effect only on a soil which is prepared to receive it. To keep the growth of the College on a level with that of the country, required not only the fostering care of the public and the munificence of individuals, but, in those who had the management of its concerns, wisdom, talents, zeal, energy; and these qualities were displayed in an eminent degree by President Leverett and his coadjutors.

CHAPTER X.

THE property of the College received, during this period, accessions from different persons and in various ways.

Captain Richard Sprague of Charlestown, in 1703, bequeathed to the College, "the sum of four hundred pounds in money, to be disposed of for the public benefit of the same."

The following persons made contributions to the fund for exhibitions to indigent students.

The Hon. Thomas Danforth bequeathed three leases of land in Framingham, which were sold in 1764, for £100. Benjamin Brown bequeathed, in 1708, £200 currency, the income of which was to be employed for the support of indigent scholars, those belonging to Salem to have the preference.

Major William Brown bequeathed, in 1716, £100, the income of which was to be employed for the education of his posterity, or, if there were none such, any indigent Salem scholar.

The Rev. William Brattle, minister of Cambridge, left by will, in 1717, £250, "the income to be paid to one or more students to be nominated by the President and Fellows, unless said students be nominated by some of his kindred by blood."

Col. Samuel Brown (also called the Hon. Samuel Brown), in 1720, gave £150 "towards supporting his posterity, or, if there were none such at College, then

some poor scholars, especially such as belong to Salem." He also bequeathed £60 for purchasing a handsome piece of plate for the College, "with his coat of arms upon it"; also his estate in Hopkinton, containing about 200 acres, the income to be applied to the maintenance of indigent students, especially such as might be recommended by his sons and their posterity. These lands were afterwards sold, probably to the Trustees of the Hopkins fund.

The Rev. Henry Gibbs, of Watertown, bequeathed, in 1722, £100, the interest to be employed for the benefit of his posterity in preference to other.

Capt. Ephraim Flynt, of Concord, in 1723, left by will £100, for the benefit of poor scholars, preference to be given to the posterity of his cousin Flynt of Concord, or of the Rev. Mr. Hancock of Lexington.

Thomas Brattle, Esq., (who died in 1713) bequeathed, in 1712, £200 "towards the maintenance of a Master of Arts, especially one skilled in mathematics, such as are akin to him by blood to be preferred." The interest of this legacy was afterwards granted to the Professor of Mathematics.

"The Rev. Daniel Williams, D. D., in 1716, gave his estate in Essex to the Society for New-England, on condition that £60 per annum be given to two itinerant preachers in the West Indies, and the remainder to the College in Cambridge, to promote the conversion of the Indians; and if the Society be prevented from nominating said itinerants, he bequeathed the £60 to the College." From this bequest the College now possesses a fund of \$13,000, which has been deposited with the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, and the income of which is paid to a minister and schoolmaster employed in instructing the Indians.

The proprietors of the town of Rutland granted for the College, in 1718, two hundred and fifty acres of land in that township.

In 1719, the General Court ordered two towns to be laid out on the westerly side of Groton, and 250 acres in each to be reserved for Harvard College. These lots were afterwards laid out, one in Lunenburg, which was sold, in 1774, for £120; and the other in Townsend; but “this tract falling into New Hampshire, the General Court gave the College an interest in a township granted to Joseph Sartel and others in the western parts of this province.” John Frizzle, Esq. gave £150; and, in 1723, “Madam Mary Saltonstall, lady to the Hon. Governor Saltonstall, presented, as a token of her regard for Harvard College, one hundred pounds.” It will be seen that this lady afterwards made a much larger donation to the College.

Two of the benefactors before mentioned, Thomas Brattle, Esq., and the Rev. William Brattle, have claims to a respectful notice in a work of this sort, on other accounts. These gentlemen were brothers, and alumni of Harvard College. Both of them were eminent for their talents and virtues; both were enlightened, liberal, benevolent, and public-spirited men; and, what is more particularly to our purpose, both were warm friends of Harvard College, and rendered it important services. Mr. Thomas Brattle was Treasurer of the College, from 1693 till his death in 1713, when it lost one of its most valuable officers. “He was an eminent merchant of Boston, a benefactor to the poor, and a useful, as well as opulent citizen. From him one of the streets took its name; and he was the principal founder of Brattle-Street Church.”

His superiority to the prejudices and weaknesses of the age in which he lived, is strikingly manifested in an account which he wrote October 8, 1692, of "the delusion called witchcraft," then prevailing in New-England, and which, being "too plain and just to be published in those unhappy times," lay in manuscript till the year 1798, when it was printed in that most valuable repository, the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society."¹ It exhibits the writer to great advantage, as a Christian and a wise man.

The Rev. William Brattle was a classmate of President Leverett's; they were tutors in conjunction for a number of years; and, what is very remarkable, they, together with Mr. Thomas Brattle, had the rare distinction of being elected Fellows of the Royal Society of London.²

¹ Eliot's Biog. Dict., art. *T. Brattle*. Mass. Hist. Coll. V. p. 61, First Series.

² All the alumni of this College, who, according to the Catalogue, have had that honor conferred upon them, are the following :

Cotton Mather, graduated in	1678.
John Leverett,	1680.
William Brattle,	1680.
Paul Dudley,	1690.
John Winthrop,	1700.
John Winthrop,	1732.
James Bowdoin,	1745.

It appears by the Massachusetts Historical Collections, (V. p. 61, First Series,) that it was also conferred on Thomas Brattle, who was graduated in 1676.

It is worthy of remark, that these all belonged to Massachusetts, except the John Winthrop, first named, who was grandson of the first governor of Connecticut.

Four or five other Americans, not alumni of the College, but whose names are found on the Catalogue among those which have honorary degrees affixed to them, have been elected into that illustrious body ; two of them,

Benjamin Franklin, and
Nathaniel Bowditch.

In 1696, Mr. Brattle was settled as pastor of the church in Cambridge; but retained his connexion with the College, as Fellow of the Corporation, till his death, in 1717, when his place was filled by his friend Dr. Colman. “He was a generous patron of learning, and long a father of the College.” The interest which he took in the students, while a tutor, was manifested very remarkably at a time when the small-pox prevailed among them. Inoculation was not then known; and, though he had not had that terrible disorder himself, he remained firmly at his post, and visited the sick students. “So dear was his charge to him, that he ventured his life for them, ministering both to their souls and bodies; for he was a skilful physician to both.” At length he took the disorder; but it was mild, and he happily recovered.

Mr. Brattle, like his friend Leverett, appears to have had little ambition of being distinguished as an author. The only work he is known to have published, was a system of logic, entitled, “*Compendium Logicæ, secundum Principia D. Renati Cartesii plerumque efformatum, et catechisticè propositum.*” “This passed through several editions. It was studied in College till the year 1765, and is now valued by men of learning as an excellent compendious system; but is found only among rare and curious books.”¹

To these may be added another of the glorious progeny of Massachusetts, who, though his name is not found on the Catalogue, was, as will be seen hereafter, one of the most munificent benefactors of the College, Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford.

Of every one of the above eminent persons it may be truly said, “*pluribus nominibus honorandus.*”

¹ Eliot's Biog. Dict. p. 86.

His funeral took place on the 20th of February, a day rendered memorable by the commencement of a storm, called the *great snow storm*.¹ The snow was so deep, that the magistrates and ministers, who attended on the occasion, were detained in Cambridge several days.

The same week in which Mr. William Brattle died, the College was deprived of another of its brightest ornaments by the death of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton. He had been a tutor, and was many years a fellow of the corporation. A volume of his sermons, printed after his decease, in the opinion of Dr. Eliot, "would do honor to any preacher of the present age."² In the services of the pulpit, Dr. Colman describes him to have been "all flames, and zeal, and earnestness," while his friend Brattle was "calm, and soft, and melting."

A happy union of views and of engagements subsisted among all these eminent and accomplished men; and to each of them it was no small praise, that the others were his friends.

Among those who greatly promoted the interests of the College, by giving it their care and attention, may be mentioned Governor Joseph Dudley, who died in 1720. The life of this great man belongs to the history of his country. "He was a man of rare endowments and shining accomplishments, a singular honour to his country, and in many respects the glory of it."³ Having been educated at Harvard College,

¹ Holmes's Hist. Cambridge, in Mass. Hist. Coll. VII. pp. 55-59, First Series.

² Eliot's Biog. Dict., art. *Pemberton*. Holmes's Hist. Cambridge, ubi supr.

³ Boston News-Letter.

he always retained for his *alma mater* an affectionate regard.¹ It was, do doubt, fortunate for this institution that so warm a friend to it had so much power in the country, after the province charter was annulled in 1686. It was most probably his protection, which saved it from injury in that dark and dangerous crisis. He proved himself equally its friend during the period of more than thirteen years he was governor under the new charter. “He honored and loved that his *mother*, and was wont to say of her, ‘that he knew no better place to begin the forming of a good and worthy man, only he wished us the advantage of the *great Universities* in our nation to finish and perfect us.’

“When he came to the government here, every body saw how he preferred the *Sons of the College* and men of learning in the commissions he gave; to which some good judges have imputed the *wonderful growth* of the *College* since that day; for they saw that (*cæteris paribus*) to be *capable* was the way to be *useful*, and to come to honor.”²

Previously to the occasion, which drew from the Rev. Dr. Colman this observation respecting “the wonderful growth of the College,” the number of students had increased to such a degree, that notwith-

¹ Boston News-Letter, added to Colman’s Sermon. — “In his youth he was educated at the Free School in Cambridge, under the famous Master *Corlet*; from thence he went to the College in Cambridge, and there took his degrees in the presidentship of Mr. Charles Chauncy.” He proceeded Bachelor of Arts in 1665. “He is second in the class, Benjamin Eliot, son of the apostle Eliot, being first. As they placed the students according to their parentage, why was not the son of a Governor the first?” — Eliot’s *Biog. Dict.* p. 157.

This Governor Dudley’s father, it will be recollected, was Governor Thomas Dudley, one of the first settlers of Massachusetts.

² Colman’s Funeral Sermon, p. 145.

standing the erection of Stoughton Hall less than twenty years before, another building was required for their accommodation. An election sermon, preached in 1718, by the same zealous and enlightened friend of the institution, contains an earnest appeal to the government upon this subject. "Whatever decays," said he, "the *Province* languishes under in other respects, the *College* seems to renew its youth, and has been sending out of late a vigorous issue, who in brightness of parts, and also in virtue, promise to excel. And now we have the joy to come before you, our civil fathers, as the sons of the prophets once did to Elisha, saying, Behold now the place is too *strait* for the increased number of your sons! will you please to enlarge the house for them to dwell in? We trust you will kindly answer so reasonable, so welcome a desire; and most readily build on a foundation which our fathers laid, and which our God has signally blessed." ¹

Prosperity often requires the aid of bounty and power, as well as adversity. The Overseers applied to the General Court for relief under this burthen of public favor. Their application was readily met in a manner most beneficial to the College, and honorable to the government; and in 1720 "a fine and goodly house" of brick was erected, at an expense to the Province of £3500.² An address, signed by John Leverett, in the name of the President and Fellows, was presented, Nov. 18th, 1720, by the President in person, accompanied by two of the Fellows, to his Excellency Governor Shute, and to the Honorable his Majesty's Council and House of Representatives, in

¹ Colman's Elect. Sermon.

² Coll. Records.

thankful acknowledgment of this favor to the College. This building, which received the name of *Massachusetts Hall*, is still in a good state of preservation, and is the oldest of the large College buildings yet standing.

This noble addition to the accommodations for the residence of the students, was soon followed by a corresponding increase of those means of instruction, which properly constitute a University.¹

¹ By the following extracts from the Records of the Overseers, it appears that the time of holding the annual *Commencement*, which had long been the first Wednesday in July, was altered in 1714.

“At a meeting, &c., July 7, 1714, Mr. President propounding, that, on consideration of the excessive heat of the weather, and other inconveniences attending the holding the Commencement on the first Wednesday in July, the time might be altered, it was voted, that henceforth the Commencement be held upon the last Wednesday of August yearly.”

CHAPTER XI.

THE College had already begun to engage the attention of one of the most extraordinary families, that Providence ever raised up for the benefit of the human race. It is scarcely necessary to say, that I allude to the family of HOLLIS; a family, whose members, in its several branches, and for more than a century, employed the fruits of their industry and economy, in founding charities, erecting churches, endowing seminaries of learning, and supplying, in various ways, at home and abroad, with little regard to sect or party, the moral, intellectual, and physical wants of their fellow-men.

Several of these excellent persons were benefactors of Harvard College. The first and largest one was Thomas Hollis, Esq., Merchant of London, the oldest son of a distinguished philanthropist of the same name. He began his services to the College as the agent for another person. "It appears that Robert Thorner left several legacies for charitable purposes, and among the rest one for Harvard College, and appointed his nephew, Mr. Hollis, one of the Trustees. When Dr. Increase Mather and his son were in London in 1690, Mr. Hollis gave them a minute of his uncle's will; but told them it would be many years before the bequest would become due, and intimated that they might possibly hear from him sooner."

The immediate occasion of his own benefactions seems to have been furnished by the Rev. Dr. Colman of Boston. While this gentleman “was pursuing the recovery of a legacy of £160 sterling, for two poor orphans, in the years 1717 and 1718, his letters fell into the hands of Mr. Hollis, whose heart was devising liberal things;” and the consequence was, that from that time the main course of his bounty was directed towards New England, and particularly Harvard College. “His first letter bears date March 2, 1719, and is addressed to ‘Mr. Increase Mather, formerly President of Harvard College, or to the gentleman who is now President thereof.’ It contained an invoice of twelve casks of nails and one cask of cutlery, consigned to John Gilbert & Co. of Boston, with an order to pay over the same for the use of the College.” He continued making remittances after that for about nine years. They consisted of various kinds of hardware, of arms, and bills of exchange; the proceeds of which, agreeably to his directions, were so invested, as to constitute a permanent fund for the support of ten poor scholars, a Professor of Divinity, and a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; the scholars to receive each ten pounds currency per annum, and the professors each a salary of £80 currency, or £26 sterling. He was so exact as to make provision for his treasurer’s pay, which was to be £20 currency a year. His bounty was also extended to the Library and Philosophical Apparatus, which were enriched by valuable presents. The aggregate of his donations was not much, if at all, short of £2000 sterling. So large an amount was never given to the College before by any one individual; and when it is considered that all this came from a stranger in a dis-

tant land, from one of the then "poor despised Baptists," during the lifetime of the donor, and at a time when the value of money was vastly greater than it is now, what breast does not glow with grateful admiration? Some idea may be formed of the difference in the value of money then and now, by considering that the salary of a professor was at first only £26 sterling, and that this was then called an "honorable stipend."

In founding the ten scholarships, which was all this good man seems at first to have had in view, he directed that the incumbents should be poor students, who were intended for the ministry; that none should be excluded from the benefit of this charity, for being Baptists; and that persons, proposed for it, should be nominated to him, for his rejection or approval, by the Corporation, who were earnestly conjured to beware of recommending "rakes and dunces."

Mr. Hollis would have ranked high among the benefactors of the College, had he done no more than he at first intended. But he was one of those generous spirits, that are not exhausted by a single effort; who feel as if nothing was done while any thing remains to be done; and whose interest in the object of their patronage gathers strength by every successive act of benevolence —

"Vires acquirit eundo."

He entered into a correspondence with President Leverett and Dr. Colman on the concerns of this institution. Many letters passed between them. He became intimately acquainted with the situation of the College, with the principles upon which it was conducted, and particularly with its wants. On its being proposed to him by President Leverett, to found a Divinity Professorship, "he expressed his surprise

that this had not been provided for before, but took the motion into consideration, thinking it, as he said, ‘a particular call of Providence.’” The result was a determination “to lay this great foundation,” which was carried into execution in 1721; and the first professorship in Harvard College and in this country bears the name of HOLLIS.

Mr. Hollis’s benefactions to the College were now considered so important, that President Leverett gave a formal account of them, in person, to the General Court; and a letter of thanks, drawn up by a most respectable committee of both houses, was voted to be sent to him.

One of the articles in Mr. Hollis’s Rules and Orders has been the foundation of a controversy between the Calvinists and Unitarians, which has not yet ceased. The article is this: “That the person, chosen from time to time to be a professor, be a man of solid learning in Divinity, of sound or orthodox principles, one who is well gifted to teach, of a sober and pious life, and of a grave conversation.”

What may have been the intention of Mr. Hollis in using the words “sound or orthodox principles,” — words, on which the controversy seems to turn, — it would not perhaps be proper, and is certainly not necessary, to undertake to determine, in a work of this kind. It is due, however, to Mr. Hollis, to state, that he was a man of a most liberal and catholic spirit; and that, in drawing up those articles, he employed several of the most learned, enlightened, and rational clergymen of the age.

To the honor of Harvard College, the new office did not remain vacant a single day, for the want of a suitable person, among her sons, to discharge its important duties. In a letter, written by Dr. Colman

to Mr. Hollis, in the name of the Corporation, he thus expresses himself: "There is but one thing more, Sir, which I have now to add, but 't is a very great one, — the nomination of a person to you to be your first Professor. There is lately returned to, and is now residing in the College, a very accomplished person for the office in our joint opinion and judgment; Mr. *Edward Wigglesworth*, who in the year 1710, passed his first degree with us, and has ever since diligently applied himself to the learned studies, and to the study of Divinity more especially. He is a person of known and exemplary virtue, piety, literature, modesty, meekness, and other Christian ornaments: his public exercises in the pulpit discover a solid judgment, a clean stile, a clear method, a bright and strong thought, and a facility or aptness to teach. And it now appears to us, as if Providence may have reserved him for such a service as this now before us; which we apprehend may suit him in all respects; excepting his low opinion of himself: yet neither is he wanting in gravity, wisdom, and a spirit of government and authority, which may be necessary to command the reverence of others to him in any office he may be called to.

"We do therefore heartily and earnestly recommend him to your favor, to be nominated by you your first Professor; and the sooner you please to name him the better, that he may be ready to enter on the work as soon as we can be ready to install him; or that, being apprized of his nomination, he may be preparing himself for his entrance thereon."¹

Mr. Wigglesworth, having been thus recommended by the Corporation, was accepted by Mr. Hollis, and appointed the first Professor of Divinity. The choice was confirmed by the Overseers, Jan. 24th, 1722. In

¹. Turell's Life of Colman, p. 54, 55.

this body there were eleven votes for, and three against him. It is no slight evidence of the good sense and liberality of the age, that the appointment of so rational and catholic a man to an office, which was to have an important bearing on the religious state of the community, should have met with no more opposition from bigotry or enthusiasm.

He was inaugurated October 24th, 1722; and in 1724 he was chosen a member of the corporation in the place of Mr. Tutor Robie.

The order of events renders it fitting to take leave of this worthy benefactor for the present; but we shall return to him with eagerness under the next presidency.

For the presidency of Mr. Leverett was reserved the receipt of a valuable legacy, which had been left in the time of President Chauncy, by the Hon. Edward Hopkins. In early life, this gentleman was an eminent and wealthy merchant in London; but, being “a man of zeale and courage for the truths of Christ,”¹ he came to this country with the Rev. Mr. Davenport, in the year 1637, and settled in Connecticut, where he served as governor, for several years with great wisdom and integrity, and was universally beloved. The death of his elder brother required his return to England. He there filled, with credit, some important stations under the government, became a member of Parliament, and died in the year 1657, leaving in his will strong testimonials of his affection for this country, and “of that public spirit and charity, which had distinguished him in life.”²

¹ Wonder-Working Providence, chap. viii.

² Trumbull's Hist. pp. 241, 242.

[The most interesting parts of his will are given at large in Savage's edition of Winthrop's New England, Vol. i, p. 228, note; to which the reader is referred. EDIT.]

Besides his whole estate in New England, which was given for pious and charitable purposes, and of which about £1000 sterling has been appropriated to the support of the Grammar schools in New Haven, Hartford, and Hadley; he ordered that, in six months after the death of his wife, £500 sterling should be paid out of his estate in England, "for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in those parts of the earth."

His wife, Anne Hopkins, survived him forty-one years.¹ After her decease, payment of the legacy being refused, a suit for the recovery of it was instituted in the Court of Chancery, where the cause remained a long time.² At length, March 19th, 1712–13, it was decreed by Lord-Keeper Harcourt, with the consent of the Society for propagating Christianity, and others, that the legacy of £500, with interest from the time it was due, amounting to £300, (making in all £800 sterling) should be paid into the hands of trustees, to be laid out in the purchase of lands, for the benefit of Harvard College and the Grammar School at Cambridge.³ Three fourths of the income, after

¹ She died December 17th, 1698.

² [The final decree for paying over the money was made Dec. 22, 1714; but it does not appear to have been received before the year 1715. The cause of this delay was the death of the person who was Mr. Hopkins's sole executor and residuary devisee. This event made it necessary to institute proceedings in chancery against *his* executor. See Winthrop's Hist. by Savage, Vol. i, p. 230, note. EDIT.]

³ The first Trustees of the Hopkins fund were, "Joseph Dudley, William Tayler, Waitstill Winthrop, Samuel Sewall, Eliakim Hutchinson, Penn Townsend, Edward Bromfield, John Higginson, and Simeon Stoddard, Esquires; Increase Mather, Doctor in Divinity; Cotton Mather, Doctor in Divinity; John Leverett, President of Harvard Colledge; Jeremiah Dummer, John Burrill, Esquires; William Brattle, Minister of Cambridge; Nehemiah Walter, Minister of Roxbury; Daniel Oliver and Thomas Fitch, Merchants; Andrew Belcher, Addington Daven-

deducting two shillings on the pound, or one tenth part, were to be applied to the support of four Students in Divinity at the College, bachelors or masters of arts, the former to have the preference; and one fourth, to the support of five boys at the School. The tenth part, deducted as above, was to be applied to the purchase of books for presents to meritorious undergraduates;¹ and these rewards of scholarship were to entitle those, who received them, to a preference at subsequent elections, when they were candidates for the benefit of the fund, as resident graduates.

The recovery of this charity had put the claimants to an expense of about £60 sterling. Soon after the money was received, which was not till the year 1715, a large tract of land, called *Magunkaquog*, was purchased of the Natick Indians.² This was afterwards

port, and Adam Winthrop, Esquires; all inhabitants of Massachusetts.”
—*Coll. Records*.

The boys, supported at the Grammar school, are nominated to the Trustees by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and the Minister of Cambridge for the time being, who are the Visitors of the School. — Holmes's *Hist. of Cambridge, in Mass. Hist. Coll.* VII. p. 23, First Series.

¹ From the first word in the short latin label, which is signed by the President, and attached to the inside of the cover, a book presented from this fund is familiarly called a *Detur*.

² The deed, by which this land was conveyed, is on parchment, dated Oct. 11, 1715, and signed by Thomas Waban, Samuel Abraham, Solomon Thomas, Abraham Speen, Thomas Pegun, Isaac Nehemiah, and Benjamin Tray, a committee or agents for the Indian proprietors of the plantation of Natick. The signatures afford no very high idea of the state of learning among the Natick Indians. Those composing the committee, were, no doubt, men of consequence among them; yet of the whole seven, two only, Waban and Tray, wrote their names themselves, and that not very well, particularly the latter; the remaining five made their *marks*, each different from the others.

In the deed this place is called *Magunkaquog* probably from a hill in it called *Megonko*; but Dr. Stimpson, (*Hist. Coll.* IV. p. 15, First Series,) says “its Indian name is *Quansigomog*.”

considerably enlarged by a grant from the General Court of contiguous Province lands; and, in consequence of this grant, the Trustees, in 1727, added two to each of the two descriptions of beneficiaries above mentioned. They have since added one more to the students in Divinity; so that seven may now be put on this foundation at the College, and the same number at the School. These lands formed nearly the whole of a township, situated in the south-west part of the county of Middlesex, Massachusetts. It received the name of Hopkinton, in honor of the donor. A part of it, containing about 3000 acres, was afterwards set off to the town of Upton, in the county of Worcester, which was incorporated in 1735.¹

Previously to this, the lands had been leased for ninety-nine years, at the annual rent of three pence an acre during that time, and not exceeding nine pence an acre after its expiration; the tenants to pay no Province tax for three quarters of the premises. This contract proved unsatisfactory to both the parties. The Trustees paid away all their rents in taxes, and the tenants felt it to be a grievance, that the leases contained no security to them for the right of renewal at the end of the ninety-nine years. An act was accordingly procured from the General Court, in 1741 – 2, providing a remedy for these evils. New indentures were thereupon executed between the parties, by which the tenants were to hold the lands in fee simple, subject to a rent-charge of one penny sterling an acre, till the 25th of March 1823, and three pence an acre payable on the 25th of March annually, from that time forward for ever. They were also to pay all Province taxes for these lands, to be rated by the

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. IV, p. 15, First Series.

General Court, from time to time, for what they were worth above the rents reserved.

In the year 1782 great inconveniences having arisen to the tenants, and much difficulty to the Trustees, from the mode of collecting the rents, a resolve was passed by the General Court, directing that these lands should be taxed in the same manner as other lands, and that out of the proceeds the Collectors should pay the rents to the Treasurer of the Hopkins fund. This resolve was limited in its operation to seven years; but before the expiration of that time another resolve was passed, in November, 1787, by which it was provided, that the Treasurer of the Commonwealth should in future receive all the tax and pay the rent to the Treasurer of the Trustees.

The rents, amounting annually to \$222 and 22 cents, were paid to the 25th of March, 1823, when, by the Act of 1741, they were to be raised to three pence sterling an acre. The Governor declined drawing his warrant on the Treasury for this increased sum; the House refused to concur with the Senate in a resolve authorizing the Governor to draw his warrant as formerly; and it has been decided by the Supreme Court, that the tenants, who for more than forty years had enjoyed a complete exemption from this charge, are now liable for the payment of the rents immediately to the Trustees, according to the original contract.

Such obstacles presented themselves, however, to the execution of this decision, and so determined were the people of Hopkinton and Upton to avoid, if possible, an incumbrance from which they had long considered themselves discharged, that, in March 1830, the Legislature, upon application from the Trustees, ap-

pointed Commissioners “to investigate the subject, and to make report of their doings, and in what manner the claims of said Trustees can or ought to be adjusted and determined.”

The tenants “state, that, having long considered their lands discharged from the payment of the rent, it has been the common practice among them for more than thirty years, to make no distinction between the common land and leased land, either in devising it by will, making partition among the heirs, or in buying, selling, or exchanging. And, in their conveyances, general covenants and warranties against incumbrances have been inserted, as well with regard to the leased lands as to lands never liable to the said rent-charge. And they assert, that it is now utterly impossible to distinguish the portion, which was originally subject to the said rent from that which was not.”

To understand this fully, it is necessary to observe, that all the lands over 12,500 acres had been originally reserved for commons; but, by the act of 1741, they were granted by the Trustees to the tenants, “who proceeded to make a division thereof among themselves, from time to time according to their respective interests.”¹

The Commisioners, who were the Hon. Solomon Strong of Leominster, and the Hon. Nathan Brooks of Concord, reported in June, 1830, that, under all the circumstances, it would be advisable for the Trustees to relinquish one third part of the rent, and for the Legislature to pay two thirds. The report was referred to the next session of the General Court.²

¹ Report to the House of Representatives, March 2, 1830.

² Records of the Trustees and General Court. Pickering's Reports, VII. pp. 121, 132.

The whole annual rent now claimed by the Trustees is 666 dollars and 66 cents. The whole rent also from the 25th of March 1823, remains unpaid. Independent of this interest in Hopkinton and Upton, there is a fund of nearly \$20,000, resulting from a gradual accumulation of sums unexpended at different times, and judiciously managed by the Trustees.¹

[¹ The history of the Hopkins fund, since the decease of the author, is contained in the following statement, furnished by the Treasurer of the Trustees.

“The report of the Commissioners, made in June, 1830, having been finally rejected by the Legislature in 1831, the tenants presented a new petition, in January, 1832, strongly urging their claims on the justice of the government. This appeal was more successful than those which had been made by the Trustees to former legislatures; and on the 23d of March, 1832, a resolve was passed, authorizing the payment of eight thousand dollars to the Trustees, from the treasury of the State, upon condition that the tenants should raise such further sum, as the Trustees should consent to accept, together with the eight thousand dollars, in full discharge of all claims in law or equity against the Commonwealth, and against the tenants. An arrangement was afterwards made, by which the Trustees consented to receive from the tenants two thousand dollars, in addition to the grant by the legislature. That sum was received of the tenants by the Treasurer of the Trustees, on the 4th of October, 1832, and the sum granted by the State, on the 21st of November following; and full releases were executed to the Commonwealth and the tenants by the Trustees.

“Thus was finally terminated a controversy, which seemed to threaten endless litigation, and very deplorable consequences both to the tenants and to the trust.

“After the decision of the Supreme Judicial Court, that the Trustees must seek their remedy against the tenants, a large number of actions were instituted for the recovery of the rents. These had been pending about six years. The Trustees had been obliged to prepare, with almost incredible difficulty and labor, a map of the lands, and a chain of title to each parcel for more than a century, from very scanty and imperfect materials. Several expensive trials were had; and the whole charge necessarily incurred by the Trustees, in preserving this portion of the fund committed to their care, exceeded two thousand five hundred dollars.” EDIT.]

CHAPTER XII.

THE Library was now become, for that period, a very respectable establishment. Besides the donations already mentioned, it had received additions from numerous individuals; among whom were the Rev. Dr. Isaac Watts, the Rev. Joseph Henry, the Rev. Richard Baxter, the Rev. Peter Bulkley, the Rev. James Peirce, President Mather, and Dr. Benjamin Colman. The first Catalogue of the books was printed in 1723. It is still extant, and contains about 3500 volumes, arranged under the very common, but unscientific and inconvenient heads, of folios, quartos, octavos, &c.

Considerable additions had been made to the library since the time, when that devourer of books, Cotton Mather, expressed himself concerning it in the following manner:

“ ’T is, I suppose, the best furnished that can be shown any where in all the American regions; and when I have the honor to walk in it, I cannot but think on the satisfaction, which Heinsius reports himself to be filled withal, when shut up in the library at Leyden: ‘ Plerumque in eâ simulac pedem posui, foribus pessulum obdo, et in ipso Æternitatis gremio, inter tot illustres animas sedem mihi sumo; cum ingenti quidem animo, ut subinde magnatum me misereat, qui fælicitatem hanc ignorant.’ ”¹

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, B. IV. p.127, fol. ed. printed in London, 1702.

In this collection were to be found the most considerable of the Greek and Latin classics,¹ the Christian Fathers, the Talmud Babylonicum ; many of the most important works of modern times, as the London Polyglott (a *Republican* copy), Cudworth's Intellectual System, Lightfoot's works, the Histories of Clarendon, Thuanus, &c., some of the works of Erasmus, Descartes, Lord Bacon, Selden, Grotius, Leclerc, Gassendi, Newton, Boyle; the works of Chaucer, Shakspeare's Plays, Milton's Poetical Works ; and many others of the first rank in literature and science.

A great proportion of the works, at least two thirds, were theological.²

Most of them were in the learned languages, principally Latin. There were few in any modern languages, except English. There was a great paucity of works in modern literature. Not one of the productions of Dryden, Sir William Temple, Shaftesbury, Addison, Pope, Swift, or any other of the constellation of fine writers of Queen Anne's reign, or of any of the twenty-three years, which had elapsed, of the century, in which the Catalogue was printed.

With few exceptions, the books were printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The oldest book in that library, whose date is above given, was printed at Strasburg in 1490, and was on the same subject with one, which, till recently, was the oldest in the present library, and which was printed at Venice in 1481. They are commentaries, by different persons, on the work entitled "*Sententiarum Libri IV,*" by Peter Lom-

¹ It is remarkable that there was no copy of Homer, in the original, among them.

² Of the present Library scarcely one fourth is of that description.

bard, Bishop of Paris in the twelfth century. In that library there were not less than twenty-four ponderous tomes, all folios but two, on the same work, put forth at different times ; and these formed but a small part of the number of commentaries, written by many learned doctors from time to time, on that celebrated production of scholastic theology. Some idea may be formed of the difference between the old library and the present one, from the fact, that the latter contains the single copy above-mentioned. It was written by St. Thomas Aquinas, and is entitled "Super Quarto Libro Sententiarum." fol. Venet. 1481. The old library also contained a copy of the "Book of Sentences" itself, which the present does not.

The oldest book now in the Library is a fine Latin copy of Diogenes Laërtius, printed at Venice, by Nicolas Jenson, in 1475.

Few of the books in the old library, which are not also in the present one, would probably be thought of much value at the present day, except with reference to the history of literature.

"The Library," says Neal in his History of New-England (first printed in 1720), "the Library is very defective in modern authors, which may be one reason why the stile and manner of the New-England writers does not equal that of the Europeans."

The American writer, Cotton Mather, with whom Neal seems to have been most familiar, and from whom he took the greatest part of his history, was, in point of "stile and manner," no very favorable specimen of the New-England authors. That voluminous writer was certainly distinguished for any thing rather than good taste in composition. He was in this respect at least inferior to his father, to Mr. Pemberton, Dr. Col-

man, Jeremiah Dummer, and to most of his New-England contemporaries.

Our ancestors, we may presume, took all due notice of this remark of the worthy historian at the time it appeared. They had not, indeed, any *review* for the vehicle of remonstrance; there were then no literary journals here or in England; but they had, what was sufficient for their purpose, two weekly gazettes, and, soon after, three, printed in the town of Boston.*

But it is, perhaps, not too late even now to bestow upon it a passing reflection. It is admitted that the Library was “very defective in modern authors”; but, though at a period, when a University education had less of a popular cast than it has at present, the elegant literature of the day did not find a place in that repository of erudition, it is not therefore to be supposed that it was unknown, or unattended to, in this part of the British dominions, especially in so wealthy and populous a place as Boston was now become. The supposition would be incredible, even if it were not disproved by facts. The use, which the “printer’s boy” Benjamin Franklin, made of his “odd volume of the *Spectator*,” in forming a style, which writers of the present day would do well to imitate, is known to every reader. Various productions of the early part of the last century, still extant, furnish abundant evidence, that the writers of them were probably as far from having confined their reading to antiquated works, as their fellow subjects on the other side of the water.

By way of set-off to this remark of the English historian, a cotemporaneous one may not improperly be

* The first newspaper, published in British America, was printed April 24, 1704. It was called “The Boston News-Letter”; and was continued seventy-two years..

cited from a man, whom the celebrated Dr. Chauncy places among the “three first for extent and strength of genius and powers, New England has ever produced,”¹ and who, having been graduated at Harvard College, went to England, there became the agent for Massachusetts, and was an associate of the wits of Queen Anne’s reign,—the accomplished Jeremiah Dummer. Being, moreover, an elegant writer himself, he is entitled, in a question of this sort, to the most respectful attention. In an interesting letter which he wrote *from England*, in 1711, to the famous Mr. Tutor Flynt, he observes, — “I must own to you, that I think the modern sermons, which are preached and printed *here*, are very lean and dry, having little divinity in the matter, or *brightness in the stile*; I am sure they are *no way* comparable to the solid discourses, which Mr. *Brattle*, gives you every week.”²

¹ The other two were Mr. John Bulkley, Minister at Colchester in Connecticut, and Mr. Thomas Walker of Roxbury.

² Mr. Brattle, minister of Cambridge, formerly Tutor with Mr. Leverett.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE last years of President Leverett were disquieted by some proceedings of the Overseers and of the General Court.

In the year 1722 one of the resident instructors presented a memorial, both to the Corporation and Overseers, claiming a place in the former body, rendered vacant by the death of the Rev. Mr. Stevens of Charlestown. The Corporation, however, elected the Rev. Dr. Sewall of the Old South Church, Boston, and presented him for approval to the Overseers. The Overseers refused to concur; and informed the Corporation, that they "judge it proper that the vacancy in the Corporation, by the decease of the Rev. Joseph Stevens of Charlestown, be filled up by the election of a *Resident Fellow* in his stead." The Corporation then thought fit, "saving to themselves the right of electing members of the Corporation, upon any vacancy, according to the powers vested in them by the College charter, and protesting against their acquiescence being made a precedent, to choose Mr. Tutor Robie. The five Fellows of the Corporation were now, the Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge, the Rev. Dr. Colman and the Rev. Mr. Wadsworth of Boston, Mr. Tutor Flynt, and Mr. Tutor Robie.

Another interposition of the Overseers in support of the alleged rights of the Tutors, or Resident Fellows, occurred about the same time. In 1716 the Corporation had passed an order, that "no Tutor or Fellow of the House, now or henceforth to be chosen, shall hold a Fellowship, with salary, for more than three years, except continued by election." The same year, Mr. Nicholas Sever was chosen a "Tutor or Fellow of the House," and, in pursuance of that rule, was re-chosen in 1719; but at the expiration of another term of three years, in 1722, the Corporation refused to re-elect him, and declared that he had ceased to be "a Fellow of the House." Against this decision, Mr. Sever presented memorials both to the Corporation and the Overseers. The Overseers voted June 3, 1722, "That the said Mr. Sever still continues a Fellow, notwithstanding what has been done with reference to him, by the Corporation." As on the former occasion, the Corporation again submitted to the Overseers, and consented "that, saving the proper rights and privileges of the Corporation, and to prevent further debates and contentions (which we look on as threatening to the welfare of the College), that the said Mr. Sever again act as Tutor and Fellow of the House."

The same day, on which the Overseers passed the above vote respecting Mr. Sever, they addressed a memorial to the General Court, praying that the number of the Corporation might be enlarged, and that, in so doing, "regard be had to the resident Fellows or Tutors, that they may be of that number." This memorial was referred to a joint committee of *both houses*. On the 28th of June, 1723, they made the following report:

“ The committee appointed to consider the memorial of the Overseers of Harvard College in Cambridge, having perused and considered the Charter granted to the said College, by the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in the year 1650 (which is their present constitution), and also the memorial aforesaid, came to the following resolutions, which being put in practice would answer the end of the memorial and be more beneficial, than enlarging the number of the Corporation.

“ 1. That it was the intent of the said College Charter, that the Tutors of the said College, or such as have the instruction and government of the Students, should be the Fellows and Members of the Corporation of the said College, provided they exceed not five in number.

“ 2. That none of the said Fellows be Overseers.

“ 3. That the said President and Fellows of the said College, or the major part of them, are not warranted by the said Charter of the College to fix or establish any salary or allowance for their services without the consent of the Overseers.”

This Report was accepted by the House, and “it was ordered that the Corporation for the future practise accordingly.” The Council concurred with the House; and Governor Shute gave his assent to the order, with the proviso, that the “Rev. B. Colman, Rev. B. Wadsworth, and Rev. N. Appleton, are not removed by said order, but still remain Fellows of the Corporation.”

The House of Representatives immediately sent a message to the Governor, requesting his absolute consent “to the votes passed by both Houses.” The Governor replied, that he made the proviso agreeably

to the wishes of the Council, and of the Overseers of the College, and should adhere to it, till another meeting of the Overseers. The House then renewed their request, that the Governor would pass absolutely on the orders. The subject was agitated, with no small warmth, at each subsequent session of the Legislature until the decease of President Leverett.

In the mean time a petition was presented by Messrs. Sever and Welsted, "two of the Resident Fellows, praying they may be vested with the powers of the Charter, as members of the Corporation." On receiving this petition, the House of Representatives renewed their former resolutions, and again sent them to the Council for concurrence.

The Corporation had, at a former session, presented a memorial to the General Court, respecting the proposed measure, and requesting to be heard before any further proceedings were had. In this memorial they say, "We should be heartily glad and think it much for the safety of the College, if the honorable Court in their wisdom think it proper to *enlarge* the Corporation to twice its present number or more, because of the large powers, with which we think it is entrusted, always provided that *the resident Tutors should never be able to make a major part*, because we think it contrary to the light of nature, that any should have an overruling voice in making those laws, by which themselves must be governed in their office-work, and for which they receive salaries."

The request of the Corporation for a hearing was refused by the House (Dec. 12th, 1722), as "altogether groundless, and noways to be justified." Notwithstanding this harsh repulse, occasion was now taken by the Council to endeavour to obtain for them a joint

hearing; but, failing in this, the Council gave them a separate hearing before their own body, August 23d, 1723; and such was the light, in which the subject now presented itself to them, that the next day they passed a different vote from that of the year before, and non-concurred in the resolutions of the House. Thus was terminated an affair, which had engaged the attention and agitated the passions, not only of those immediately interested in the College, but of the public at large.

The merits of this question are left to others to decide; and, with the aid of the full and able discussion, which the only other attempt of a similar nature has recently produced,¹ this will not, probably, be found a difficult task.

But, it may be asked, why such a measure should be proposed, for the first time, during the brilliant presidency of Leverett? why so violent an effort should be made to introduce an important change into the College Government, when the institution was in so prosperous and flourishing a state?

It was, most probably, in this very prosperity of the College, that those proceedings had their origin. For a long period the number of Tutors had been only two, and, till the year 1720, had never exceeded three. It appears, that, till then, the Tutors had generally formed a part of the Corporation, and had been styled Resident Fellows, and Fellows of the House or College. The growth of the College having rendered it necessary to increase the number of Tutors to four, and the appointment of a Professor of Divinity having made the number of the resident instructors equal to that of the

[¹ 1824 – 1825. EDIT.]

Fellows of the Corporation, this body judged it inexpedient, for reasons already cited from its memorial, to continue to fill its vacancies by the election of Tutors.

The Tutors were now Henry Flynt, Thomas Robie, Nicholas Sever, and William Welsted. Mr. Flynt had been a Tutor and Fellow of the Corporation many years; Mr. Robie was chosen a member in the manner just related; and Mr. Sever and Mr. Welsted very naturally supposed that they had a right to a place in that body. A general sentiment prevailed in favor of admitting them. The Corporation themselves were desirous of it, provided it could be effected in a way, that would not impugn what they considered a very important principle; and the Overseers accordingly petitioned the Legislature to have the Corporation *enlarged*, with a view, particularly, to that object.¹

The course which this affair afterwards took has already been related; and whoever considers the difference between the conduct of the popular branch of the Government and that of the Governor and Council, in connexion with other facts, will probably be of opinion, that the proceedings of the House of Representatives were strongly marked with that party spirit, which was so violent in the Province during the early part of the last century.

It is, however, due to the excellent men, who composed the Corporation at this time, to observe, that, in opposing the resolutions, to which the House of

¹ Further Remarks on the Memorial of the Officers of Harvard College. By an Alumnus [J. Lowell, Esq.]. p. 15. Boston, 1824.

Letter to John Lowell, Esq. By Edward Everett. p. 80.

Memorial of the Resident Instructors of Harvard College to the Corporation, in 1824; p. 15.

Representatives adhered with such pertinacity, they were evidently actuated by a pure regard for the welfare of the College, and that they maintained the ground, they assumed, with equal moderation, firmness, and perseverance. The views and feelings of President Leverett, upon the occasion, are exhibited in the following letter to Dr. Colman :

“ *Cambridge, Nov. 26, 1722.*

“ Rev. and Dear Sir,

“ This morning I am informed, that the House of Representatives have brought forward their bill for *alterations* in the Corporation, which the Governor signed with the proviso of your, Mr. Wadsworth’s, and Mr. Appleton’s continuance, as members of the Corporation, and suppose the intent is, to refuse the Governor’s allowance, if he don’t come into their scheme without reserve. I understand also that Col. Dudley has informed the House that Mr. Wadsworth and you will resign your places, and then the way will be clear. But *I hope better* things of you. However, I doubt not, salvation will come to this poor society, from Him to whom salvation belongs.

“ His Excellency has told me, that he is *so well satisfied*, that the project will be *fatal* to the College, that he *never* will come into it, *let what will come*. I pray God confirm his resolutions, and prevent this *ruin* coming to the College under his hands. I ask your prayers for the Divine presence with, and direction to me in the affair, that will be but so much the more difficult for me, if you withdraw.

“ I am, &c.

“ JOHN LEVERETT.”¹

¹ Further Remarks, &c. p. 18.

President Leverett did not long survive this very troublesome affair. He died suddenly, May 3d, 1724, at the age of 62 years, and in the seventeenth year of his presidency.¹ The sensation, excited by this event, may be imagined from expressions and passages in the discourses preached upon the occasion by some of the first divines of the day. They speak of it, as a "dark and awful Providence," a "heavy judgment of God," a "token of his anger," a "sore frown upon the College." "The Lord," says Dr. Appleton, "has made a mighty breach upon you ; and I may address you in the words of the Prophet : *What thing shall I liken to thee, O daughter of Jerusalem ? What shall I equal to thee ? that I may comfort thee, O virgin daughter of Zion ; for thy breach is great like the sea. Who can heal thee !* Verily, the breach made upon you is so wide, that none but an all-sufficient God (with whom is the residue of the spirit) can repair or heal it."²

¹ The following particulars of the death and funeral of President Leverett are extracted from the MS. Journals of Chief Justice Sewall and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Sewall.

"1724, May 3, Lord's Day. After the morning exercise I was surprised with the account of President Leverett's very sudden death. He went to bed seemingly pretty well, wak'd early and complain'd of pain. He seemed to goe to sleep again ; was found dead in his bed betw. 6 and 7 A. M." — *Journal of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Sewall.*

"Midweek, May 6, 1724. The President is buried. Bearers, His Honor the L't. Govr', Col. Tailer, Sewall, Dr. Mather, Wadsworth, Colman. Gloves, Rings, Scutcheons. The corps was first carried into the Hall, the whole funeral solemnities moving thither. There it was set down ; and Mr. Welsteed made a funeral oration in Latin ; w'ch was performed well, considering the greatness of the occasion, and short warning. Then the cavalcade proceeded again, and by reason of the length of it, the Fellows and Students going before, and the mourners and others following after, were fain to proceed near as far as Hastings' before they returned. Was laid in a brick grave." — *Diary of Chief Justice Sewall.*

² Sermon, pp. 35, 36.

“How little,” says Dr. Colman,¹ “did we know or think what the Lord was doing or had done unto us, the last Lord’s day but one, when in the morning he was found dead and gone from us in a soft and gentle slumber, without any notice to himself or us! O the surprising stroke of Heaven on us! *Our master gone*, and not accompanied with one parting prayer and cry to Heaven for ourselves and him! *Gone*, and not one of all his learned, pious sons about his dying bed, to see him expire great and good (by the will of God) as he had lived, and to have had a blessing from his dying lips! O awful Providence! which loudly bids us *hold our peace*, and be dumb in silence.”²

Mr. Leverett was the grandson of Governor Leverett. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1680; and his name stands second in the Catalogue in a class of five; Richard Martyn, of whom nothing is now known, being, from the rank of his family in society, placed at the head. Mr. Leverett at first studied theology, and preached occasionally for several years. He and his classmate, Mr. Brattle, were the Tutors, who, as has been already related, so ably conducted the College during the four years President Mather was abroad.

Determining at length to go into the civil order, he studied law and practised in the Courts. He was afterwards employed in several important offices, all of which he filled with great ability and to the satisfaction of the public. He was several years Speaker of the House of Representatives, a member of his Majesty’s Council, a judge of Probate, a justice of the Supreme Court, one of the three Commissioners with the power

¹ These persons are styled *Dr.*, though this degree was not conferred upon them till afterwards.

² Colman’s Sermon.

of controlling the army sent against Port Royal ; and, finally, President of Harvard College. ¹

The great things, which were done for this institution, during the time he had charge of it, have been particularly related ; and in reference to them he might justly have said —

“ Quorum pars magna fui.”

His qualifications for the office were not only eminent in degree but singularly various. It is seldom that a man can be found at any time, who unites in his person so many of the talents and qualities, which are desirable in the head of a University, as were possessed by President Leverett. He had a “great and generous soul.” His natural abilities were of a very high order. His attainments were profound and extensive. He was well acquainted with the learned languages, with the arts and sciences, with history, philosophy, law, divinity, politics ; and such was his reputation for knowledge of men and things, that, “in almost every doubtful and difficult case,” he was resorted to, for information and advice.

To his wisdom and knowledge he added great firmness, resolution, and energy of character. His great abilities being consecrated to the service of God and of his generation, he was never deterred by difficulties or dangers from any undertaking, which Providence seemed to impose upon him. He prosecuted his plans with invincible constancy, diligence, and cheerfulness.

¹ In the MS. Diary of Chief Justice Sewall there is the following entry : “ Dec. 6, [1707]. Some desire, that it may be put into the Bill of Mr. Leverett — ‘ *Lay down all his civil offices, as Judge of Probate and Judge of the Superior Court.*’ ‘ *And entirely to attend that service*’ was inserted, and Mr. Secretary carried it in to the Deputies and took their consent.”

The accomplishment of them was frequently the reward of this untiring perseverance ; but if at any time his efforts were not attended with success, his strength of mind was equally conspicuous under the disappointment. It was in truth not *his own* will, but the will of *God*, that was his rule of life ; *this* will he discerned in the failure, as well as in the success of his undertakings ; and whatever was the result of them, he enjoyed at least the satisfaction arising from earnest, zealous, and faithful endeavours to perform his duty.

In common with others, who have rendered important services to mankind, and made themselves truly great, he early acquired, and retained through life, the invaluable habit of industry.

He possessed also those attractions, which are conferred by the graces ; being, from the sphere in which he has always moved, a gentleman, as well as a scholar and a man of business.

All his endowments, natural and acquired, all the operations of his mind and heart, were subjected to the control of religious and moral principle. He was a pious and good, as well as a great man. As might have been expected from one so enlightened, he was liberal and catholic in his sentiments and feelings ; and though, among the various institutions of the commonwealth, he had the preservation of its religious establishments greatly at heart, " he did not place religion so much in particular forms and modes of worship, or discipline, as in those substantial and weighty matters of the Gospel, *righteousness, faith, and charity.*" ¹

With so many solid and brilliant recommendations,

¹ Appleton's Sermon on the Death of President Leverett, p. 3.

and with the experience, which his former connexion with the College (as Tutor) had happily given him, he brought to the station, in which he was to pass the residue of his days, a spirit of government, which was never probably manifested in greater perfection. Such was the weight of his character; such his reputation for talents, learning, and virtue; such the "majesty and marks of greatness in his speech, his behaviour, and his very countenance"; and so admirably did he temper severity with mildness; that the students were inspired with reverence and affection for him at the same time. The result, it is almost unnecessary to say, was obedience and order.

Those princely qualities distinguished him indeed, when a young man, and a Tutor in the College. "For forty years together," says Dr. Colman, "he has *shone in this place* and in the eyes of *this society*, in near a *meridian* lustre. For his *morning*, which we do but just remember, was so bright that it seemed to us even then the *noon* of life; and the College and country greatly *rejoiced* in his early and uncommon light. Near forty years past *we* saw the College flourishing under his wise instruction and government, his faithful watch, his diligent and authoritative inspection. We then beheld him esteemed highly in love and honored greatly by those that were his *fathers* in age; and as for *us* we revered, feared, and loved him as our father, and as if he had been then gray in the President's chair. *The young men saw him and hid themselves, and the aged arose and stood up. Then men gave ear to him, and waited and kept silence at his counsel. His glory was then fresh in him and his speech dropped upon us.*"¹

¹ Sermon on the Death of President Leverett, p. 24.

His scientific and literary merits procured him honors from abroad, as well as in his own country, particularly the distinction of being elected a member of the Royal Society of London.

“In short,” says Dr. Appleton, “he was a great blessing, while he lived. He has done a great deal for the glory of God, and the good of this people. He has been a main pillar in the Church and in the State. He has been an honor and ornament to his country. And he has been a faithful friend and father, a careful guide and guardian to the College, and in no little measure the crown and glory of that Society; which has not only increased very much in its numbers, but flourished in solid and useful learning, under his administrations.”¹

But of all the tributes to his memory, the finest, perhaps, was that paid to it by Mr. Henry Flynt, about thirteen years after his death. Mr. Flynt was a scholar, had been educated under Mr. Leverett, and, as Tutor and Fellow of the Corporation, was associated with him during the whole of his presidency. In a Latin Oration on the death of President Wadsworth, he took occasion to introduce a brief but glowing eulogium on President Leverett, closing it in the following striking language: “De illo viro amplissimo et doctissimo, a quo vis excellenti genio, dici potest, ut olim, ‘*A longe sequor vestigia semper adorans.*’ Inscribere convenit in ejus monumento, quod Aristoteles Philosophus longe abhinc, in sepulchro magistri sui Platonis divini, exarari voluit, nimirum, *Hic jacet homo, quem non licet, non decet, impiis vel ignorantibus laudare.*”²

¹ Sermon, p. 32.

² Oratio Funebris, &c., p. 5.

CHAPTER XIV.

Those, who are conversant with the history of Massachusetts, need not be informed of the disputes between the royal government and the House of Representatives, in the early part of the last century ; and it will probably be now admitted, that the House was not always in the right. There was in truth, at that time, a great deal of democratic violence. In this the individuals who composed the Corporation of Harvard College did not participate. The consequence was, that they were not much in favor with the popular party, while they were esteemed and respected by the governors.

“The governors, Dudley, Shute, Burnet, Belcher,” says Turell in his *Life of Dr. Colman*,¹ “expressed the highest value for him.” “I know,” says Mr. Hollis, in a letter to Dr. Colman, “he [Gov. Shute] had a great opinion of your sincerity and affection to serve him, and will listen to your advice.” Bishop Kennet had expressed regret to Mr. Dummer, that Dr. Colman, with whom the Bishop corresponded, had declined the presidency of Harvard College. In a letter dated December 17th, 1725, the Doctor justifies himself to his Lordship, and observes, among other things, “I am not well in the opinion of our *House of Representatives* of *late* years, on whom the President

¹ P. 79.

² *Christian Examiner*, VII. p. 71.

depends for his subsistence.” There is no reason to think that President Leverett was any *better* “in the opinion” of the House than his friend Dr. Colman was. There are some facts, indeed, which show that he was not. It is true, that, in 1715, the House resolved “that the sum of forty pounds be added to the allowance of the Reverend Mr. John Leverett, President of Harvard College, for the current year, in consideration of the extraordinary scarcity and dearness of provisions, and other necessaries of house-keeping;” and again, in 1720, voted him a grant of fifty pounds; but, September 8, 1721, they negatived a motion to make him an allowance of thirty pounds. They even visited his sins upon his heirs. To say nothing of their non-concurrence with the Council in a vote to purchase his house and land, though wanted for his successor (to accomodate whom they chose to have a house built, rather than to take President Leverett’s), they refused to relieve his estate from any part of the heavy debts, which, in consequence of the small salary they allowed him, he was under the necessity of incurring in the discharge of his official duties.

There is evidence, I think, of the same party spirit in a letter received about this time from Mr. Hollis, who writes thus :

“Mr. Cooke, your agent, and his son, did me the honor to visit me at my house last week, and we discoursed of your state, and of your College. He tells me, that *your College is in a very bad state and condition, and the Corporation ought to be of Resident Fellows*; that the gentlemen non-resident are as worthy persons as the country affords, or could be chosen, but by their living at a distance cannot attend the good of the House as were to be desired; and you cannot al-

ter it, or increase the number of your Corporation without hazard of the whole; that the wisest man in Boston had thoroughly examined it, and himself also, who seems to understand your constitution very well."

It is enough to say that this account of the College at a time, when from all other accounts it was in a very flourishing condition, was given to Mr. Hollis, by a most zealous and active leader of the popular party. The appearance of candor, towards "the gentlemen non-resident," will probably not be thought to amount to much, especially when it is considered that the man, with whom Mr. Cooke had this conversation, was the friend and correspondent of those persons.

Some evidence, that the "very bad state" of the College consisted in the directors of it not being of Mr. Cooke's party, is found in the following record on the Journal of the House of Representatives, June 26th, 1723: "The Theses of the Batchelours to be graduated at the Commencement, to be held at Cambridge the first Wednesday of July next, being produced in the House, and the House observing the Dedication thereof not to be properly addressed,

"Voted, That it is derogatory to the honor of the Lieut. Governour, who is now Commander-in-chief of the Province, and the Head of the Overseers of the College, to have the impression of those Theses go out as they now are.

"And therefore,

"Ordered, That the Printer, Mr. Bartholomew Green, be and hereby is directed not to deliver any of those Theses, till they shall be properly addressed.

"Sent up for concurrence."

It is, probably, the above to which Neal alludes in the following passage of a letter, cited by Hutchinson in his History of Massachusetts :

“The Governor showed me the printed votes with regard to the dedication of the Theses of Harvard College, at which I could not but stand amazed.”¹

Governor Shute was then in England, where he had gone to prefer his complaints against the province.

The amount of the whole seems to be, that the leaders of the popular party were not pleased to see the College in the hands of such men as President Leverett and Dr. Colman, who had too much moderation and liberality of sentiment to suit the views and taste of party zealots; that the hostility felt towards the Corporation was suppressed for several years; that during that period, those who had the management of the College, were not much molested, and President Leverett even had one or two small grants allowed him; that their adversaries at length made an effort to take the College out of their hands; that the opposition which the popular leaders met with on this occasion from the Corporation, especially from President Leverett and Dr. Colman, roused and inflamed their enmity towards them; that the popular leaders then threw off all reserve, and not only treated those gentlemen with disrespect and unkindness, not to say with injustice, but even carried their animosity so far as to misrepresent the condition of the College.

It may be said, in answer to all this, that some persons were in favor of the measure, who cannot be supposed to have been actuated by such motives; that Thomas Hutchinson, Edmund Quincy, Addington Davenport, Benjamin Lynde, and Paul Dudley, were of the Committee, on the part of the Council, that recommended it. How far these men really went,

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. II. p. 290, note.

cannot now, I suppose, be ascertained. It does not even appear that they were all in favor of the report. It may be admitted, however, that they were; and that they had, in some way or other, been led to believe that such a measure would be right and wise; but if so, there is no doubt they afterwards changed their opinion; for the Council, of which they were leading members, though it voted at first to accept the report, yet afterwards, upon a hearing of the Corporation, gave a different vote; whereas the House of Representatives, actuated by some feeling in which the other branch did not sympathize, refused to give a hearing and adhered obstinately to its former vote. To what is this difference in the conduct of those two bodies to be attributed? Do not the facts related furnish a satisfactory clue?

I am aware that an able writer (Mr. Lowell) has presented a different solution of this affair, from that which I have ventured to give. In his "Remarks" on the Memorial of the Resident Instructors of Harvard University, in 1824, he observes; — "The conduct of that legislature, so contrary to that of all preceding and all subsequent legislatures, in their conduct towards the College, led me to *suspect* that there must have been some temporary excitement tending to warp their judgment, and *I think* I have discovered it.

"In 1717, the Corporation had elected the Rev. Benjamin Colman, pastor of Brattle-Street Church, a fellow. His principles of church-government were very offensive to the Mathers, and to the rulers of the Church and State generally. They were desirous of ousting him from the Corporation. Hence the reservation of the Governor, though moderate and just, saving the rights of the incumbents, defeated their great

object. Tutors Sever and Welsteed were but the tools, with which this unholy and illiberal work was to be accomplished. We are confirmed in this opinion by the fact, that when in 1725 Colman was legally elected President, the government *refused to grant* him his *salary*, and his election was opposed on the ground, that it was dangerous to entrust the presidency of the College to a man, who denied the *supremacy of the associated clergy*, — who was an avowed opponent of consociations.”¹

Various considerations oblige me to dissent from this explanation.

Dr. Colman took charge of the new Church in Brattle Street as early as the year 1700. It is true, the principles, on which that Church was founded, gave great offence to other churches; but a reconciliation took place; and Dr. Colman was in habits of communion and fellowship with his brethren, not excepting either of the Mathers. But the conduct of the Overseers of the College, towards Dr. Colman, appears to me to be decisive upon this point. Who were these Overseers? The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and ministers of the six adjoining towns; the very men, surely, if any, to have been influenced by the consideration in question. Now, what did these men, to whom Dr. Colman is supposed to be still so obnoxious for what took place more than twenty years before, do in the present case? Not petition the General Court, to pass such an order as would *oust* him from the Corporation; but merely to *enlarge* that body, so as to admit the Tutors; and they, in fact, requested Governor Shute to make the “*proviso*,”

¹ Remarks on a Pamphlet printed by the Professors and Tutors of Harvard University. Boston. 1824. p. 29.

which had for its object the retaining of him and the other non-resident Fellows in the Corporation.

To this testimony in favor of Dr. Colman, they soon afterwards added the most positive and conclusive evidence of their regard for him; for after the death of President Leverett, in 1724, these bigoted opposers of the Doctor *unanimously* approved of the choice, which the Corporation had made of him for President of the College!

It cannot be necessary to add any thing further to demonstrate, that, if the religious motive, assigned as the mainspring of this affair, had any operation at all, it must have been very inconsiderable. Had it been felt to any extent, it would certainly have shown itself among the Overseers.

The very able writer, from whom the above quotation is made, offers his solution, indeed, merely as a conjecture, or rather, in his own language merely "suspects" that there must have been some temporary excitement as above stated by him. But, I think, he had not given this point a minute examination; for he speaks of Dr. Colman's being "an avowed opponent of consociations." Now, distinguished as Dr. Colman certainly was for the candor and liberality of his sentiments, it was not in this way that he manifested it. On the contrary, he was an *avowed advocate* of consociations. In a letter to one of his Reverend brethren, he says, "In short, the *consociation of churches* is the very soul and life of the congregational scheme, necessary to the very *esse* as well as *benè* of it; without which we must be *independent*, and *with* which all the good of *Presbyterianism* is attainable."¹

¹ Turell's Life of Colman, p. 107.

It is evident, also, that Dr. Colman himself was not aware that his election to the Presidency was opposed in the House on religious grounds; for in his letter before alluded to, he merely says, “I am not well in the opinion of our House of Representatives of *late years* ;” — an expression which could have had no reference to an affair of so long standing as one which was coëval with his settlement in the ministry.

CHAPTER XV.

DR. COTTON MATHER, who during the whole of Mr. Leverett's presidency met but once with the Overseers, which was in 1714, when the choice of Mr. White as Treasurer was acted upon, now makes his appearance for a short time again among the Curators of the College. We find him again at two meetings of the Overseers, one of which was August 6, 1724, the first at which the question of electing a President was brought forward, and when, in consequence of a proposal from the Corporation, it was voted "that the Corporation be advised and directed speedily to proceed to the election of a suitable person to be President of the College, to fill up the vacancy made by the death of the late Rev. Mr. Leverett."

"Twice," says Dr. Eliot, "he thought himself a candidate for the President's chair, and kept days of fasting, that he might be directed how to act upon the occasion; but he was disappointed. Governor Dudley persuaded his friend Leverett to accept the place in 1707; and when that great man died, in 1724, and the voice of the people cried aloud for Dr. Mather, and it was declared, even in the General Court, that he ought to be President, it was decided otherwise by the members of the Corporation. The chair was

offered to Dr. Colman, and Dr. Sewall, and afterwards to Mr. Wadsworth, who accepted it.”

That a warm partisan of Dr. Mather vindicated his claims to the office of President, even in the General Court, is very probable, and not very material. It may be admitted, without much inquiry, that “in a public speech made in the General Assembly, a member of the Boston seat declared, after Dr. Colman’s election, that he was a man of no learning compared with Dr. Mather,” as it might have been thought little of by the Corporation, without any great crime. But the charge of disregarding “the voice of the people” is of a more serious nature, and requires examination. Now there are various considerations which lead me to acquit those highly respectable persons, who composed the Corporation, of such indecorum, to give it no harsher name, as that of setting the public at defiance, in the manner the above statement supposes them to have done; but I think it quite sufficient to observe, that the Corporation had the support of that numerous body of men, who, in point of station, of wisdom, and of influence, formed a most important part of the people, the honorable and reverend Overseers. There was, no doubt, a clamor upon the occasion; but it was not, I believe, “the voice of the people,” or at least of that portion of the people to whom the consideration of such a question properly belongs.

The first of the three Reverend gentlemen above mentioned, to whom “the chair was offered,” was the Rev. Joseph Sewall of the Old South Church in Boston. He was elected by the Corporation, August 11th, 1724, and at the first meeting of the Overseers afterwards, viz. on the 26th of the same month, the choice

was approved by them. Committees were chosen to desire his acceptance, and to obtain the consent of Mr. Sewall's church. The church declaring "their unwillingness to part with their pastor, he gave his answer in the negative."

This election seems to have decided Dr. Cotton Mather to take no further part in the management of the College.

He died not many years after (February, 1728), at the age of sixty-five years. Among the reasons which render proper some further notice of this distinguished alumnus of Harvard College, a particular one is found in the services which he rendered it. He is in fact entitled to a place among its benefactors; not that he enriched it by any splendid donation, for he does not appear to have possessed the means of benefiting it in that way; but he has preserved much interesting and valuable information respecting the history of the College, and the lives of its principal graduates for the first sixty years, which, but for his care and affection for his *alma mater*, would probably have been lost. This is a benefaction, which, notwithstanding its characteristic alloy, the sons and friends of the College will ever acknowledge with gratitude.

With all the defects and blemishes, which marked the character of Cotton Mather, it will not be denied that he was a most extraordinary man. That he possessed great vigor and activity of mind, quickness of apprehension, a lively imagination, a prodigious memory, uncommon facility in acquiring and communicating knowledge, with the most indefatigable application and industry; that he amassed an immense store of information on all subjects, human and divine; that his piety was sincere and ardent; that he was a man

of benevolent feelings, and an habitual promoter and doer of good, is evident, as well from his writings as from the various accounts that have been transmitted respecting him. It is equally evident that his judgment was not equal to his other faculties; that his passions, which were naturally strong and violent, were not always under proper regulation; that he was weak, credulous, enthusiastic, and superstitious. His conversation is said to have been instructive and entertaining in a high degree, though often marred by levity, vanity, imprudence, and puns. His writings were exceedingly voluminous. According to his biographer, who was his son, the Rev. Samuel Mather, three hundred and eighty-three of his works were published; and this number does not appear to include the whole. Most of these works were indeed small, many of them being single sermons; some, however, were books of considerable magnitude. His *opus magnum* was the "*Magnalia Christi Americana*." This is truly an *opus magnum*; and though disfigured with pedantry and barbarisms, both as to style and matter, though stuffed with puerile conceits, with a strange pedantic display of erudition, and with marvellous and incredible tales, it is an amusing and instructive work; it will always be prized as an immense repository of facts respecting the early history of New England. A new edition of this work, in two volumes, 8vo., was printed at New Haven in 1820; and it has faithfully preserved even the typographical errors of the first London impression of 1702. Though "he wrote too much to write well" he is often instructive and entertaining. His "Remarkables," &c., for instance, is a book well deserving of being read; and his "Bonifacius: an Essay upon the good to be

devised by those who would answer the great end of life," (which has been reprinted with some modifications, both in England and in this country,) has a place among the useful books of the present day. It was to this work that Dr. Franklin alluded in the following passage of a letter to Dr. Samuel Mather :

"When I was a boy I met with a book entitled *Essays to do Good*, which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out : but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life ; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a *doer of good*, than on any other kind of reputation ; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book." ¹

Cotton Mather's honors, of which he seems to have been sufficiently proud, were chiefly from abroad. In 1710 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Glasgow, and he appears to have been the first American on whom that degree was conferred by any British University. Besides his publications, he left several large works in manuscript. One of them, entitled "*Goliathus Detruncatus*," written against the famous Arian, Mr. Whiston (who in several points of character bore a striking resemblance to his Orthodox opponent), was to have been published by Dr. Edwards, a famous divine of the Church of England, who had written a preface to it ; but its appearance was prevented by the Doctor's death. The largest of these manuscripts, and indeed of all his works,

¹ Franklin's Works, VI. p. 135.

is entitled "Biblia Americana, or the Sacred Scriptures, &c. illustrated." Upon this work he was employed twenty years. It was supposed, in the proposals which his son issued in 1721 for publishing it, that it would make a work of three volumes folio. The publication did not take place; and the manuscript is deposited in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; where, with the portrait of the author's striking face, it will be permitted probably to remain; the chance of its publication not being increased, certainly, by more than a century's progress of biblical learning since it was prepared.

His contemporaries appear to have formed a very correct estimate of his abilities. They saw his weaknesses and eccentricities, and therefore would not choose him President of Harvard College. They saw, at the same time, what posterity sees, that he was a man of wonderful parts, of immense learning, and of eminent piety and virtue. It is true he had his friends and his enemies, who gave very different views of him; but it is not to be supposed that such a person as Dr. Colman would draw a picture of any one, whom he was making the subject of a solemn discourse, that should disgust by the extravagance of its flattery. In a sermon preached on his death, his friend, Dr. Colman, does not indeed say, that he was "by far the greatest man he ever was acquainted with,"¹ but he uses such language respecting him, as, notwithstanding his very natural fear of being thought to do Mather less than justice, he could have employed only in speaking of a great man. "We mourn the *decease* from us (not his *ascension* to God) of the *first Minister of the*

¹ Eliot's Biog. Dict.

town, the first in age, in gifts, and in grace ; as all his brethren very readily own. I might add (it may be without offence to any) the *first* in the whole *province* and *provinces* of *New England*, for universal literature, and extensive services. Yea, it may be, among all the *fathers* in these *churches*, from the beginning of the *country* to this day, of whom many have done worthily and *greatly* ; yet none of them amassed together so vast a *treasure* of learning and made so much *use* of it, to a variety of pious intentions, as this our Rev. Brother and Father, Dr. COTTON MATHER.”¹

He then goes on, among other things, to extol the powers he displayed in conversation. “Here,” says he, “he excelled, here he shone ; being exceeding communicative, and bringing out of his *treasury* things new and old, without measure. Here it was seen how his wit and fancy, his invention, his quickness of thought, and ready apprehension were all consecrated to God, as well as his heart, will, and affections ; and out of his abundance within his *lips* overflowed, *dropt as the honey-comb*, *fed* all that came near him, and were as the *choice silver*, for richness and brightness, pleasure and profit.”²

Dr. Mather’s maxim was, “that a power and an opportunity to do good, not only gives a right to the doing of it, but makes the doing of it a duty.”

He was very diligent. To give notice of the value of his time to him, he wrote over his study door in large letters, BE SHORT.

He first recommended inoculation of the small-pox in New England. This encouragement of a practice so

¹ Colman’s Funeral Sermon, p. 23.

² Ibid. p. 24.

novel and shocking to vulgar prejudice, exposed him to great obloquy, and even peril. So far was the rage of the populace carried, that a lighted shell filled with gunpowder was one evening thrown into his parlour window. The affair was brought before the General Court.

Dr. Mather's characterisic humor, not to say his spleen, on the election of Dr. Sewall, appeared in a short remark. "This day Dr. Sewall was chosen for his piety." Dr. Sewall was, indeed, a man of the most ardent and exalted piety. Accordingly Dr. Eliot, who without doubt spoke partly from his own personal knowledge, says: "He was a man who seemed to breathe the air of Heaven, while he was here upon earth; he delighted in the work of the ministry; and when he grew venerable for his age, as well as his piety, he was regarded as the father of the clergy. The rising generation looked upon him with reverence, and all classes of people felt a respect for his name. He was a genuine disciple of the famous John Calvin. He dwelt upon the great articles of the Christian faith in preaching and conversation; and dreaded the propagation of any opinions in this country, which were contrary to the principles of our fathers. Hence he was no friend to free inquiries, or to any discussion of theological opinions, which were held true by the first reformers. His advice to students in divinity was, to read the Bible always with a comment, such as Mr. Henry's, or Archbishop Usher's, and to make themselves acquainted with the work of his great predecessor, Mr. Willard, whose Body of Divinity was then in great repute. Though he so often preached the doctrines of the gospel, yet he never entered into any curious speculations; his object was to impress upon

people what they should believe, and how they must live to be eternally happy. His sermons were pathetic, and the pious strains of his prayers, as well as preaching, excited serious attention, and made a devout assembly. His character was uniform, and the observation has often been made, if he entered into company something serious or good dropt from his lips. ‘His very presence banished away every thing of levity, and solemnized the minds of all those who were with him.’”¹

Though not accounted a great man, he was highly respectable for his talents and learning. He was a very good classical scholar. “He could write handsomely in Latin when he was an old man, and had read many authors in that language.” He was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Glasgow, at the same time (1731) with Dr. Colman. Upon the resignation of this gentleman in 1728, he was chosen a Fellow of the Corporation and resigned in 1765, having served the College faithfully and usefully in that capacity thirty-seven years. He was a benefactor of the College. “His donation of money to be appropriated to indigent scholars, has been of considerable use. He gave this during his life, and was among the first to repair the loss of the library, when Harvard Hall was consumed by fire, by making a present of many valuable books. This devout man also gave much alms to the people. He possessed an estate beyond any of his brethren; but he always devoted a tenth part of his income to pious and charitable uses.”² He died June 27th, 1769, in the eighty-first year of his age.

¹ Eliot's Biographical Dictionary, pp. 422, 423. ² Ibid. pp. 423, 424

He was nearly related to the three great men of the name of Sewall who held the office of Chief Justice of Massachusetts. The first was his father, the second his cousin, and the third, who was the late eminent and excellent Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, of Marblehead, was his grandson. The latter left several sons who were graduated at Harvard College, and who still, as ministers or laymen, honorably support the credit of that ancient and distinguished family.

CHAPTER XVI.

FAILING in their endeavours to obtain a suitable person for the office of president from the community at large, the Corporation seem to have been compelled to have recourse to their own body ; and made choice of a gentleman, whose paramount claims and qualifications for the appointment must have rendered the circumstance of his being a Fellow of the electoral body an objection only with the over-fastidious ; — the Rev. Benjamin Colman, pastor of the Brattle-Street Church in Boston. He was chosen by the Corporation Nov. 18th, 1724, and the choice was approved by the Overseers at their first meeting afterwards, which was on the 24th of the same month. We have the authority of his son-in-law and biographer, the Rev. Mr. Turell, for saying, that the vote in his favor was unanimous. A committee, consisting of Judge Sewall, Col. Townsend, Col. Quincy, the Rev. Mr. Prince, the Rev. Mr. Webb, and the Rev. Mr. Appleton, was appointed to apply for his consent and that of his church, and to procure from the General Court “a proper salary for his encouragement.”

Mr. Colman, in his own opinion, “not being well with the House of late years,” thought it prudent to defer his answer till the General Court had acted upon the application for his salary. The House voted

not to fix a salary till he had given his answer. Mr. Colman refusing to accept under such circumstances, the Overseers voted, Dec. 17th, 1724, that "the same Committee doe now again wait on the Hon^{ble}. Gen^l. Court with Mr. Colman's answer and with this vote, praying that the matter of a salary may be considered by them and so acted upon as may be most for the speedy settlement of a President in the College and therein for the good of the whole province.' Col. Byfield and the Rev. Mr. Wadsworth were added to the Committee. The next day the Committee reported to the Overseers the following vote: "In the House of Representatives, Dec. 18, 1724, the question was put, whether the Court would establish a salary or allowance for the President of Harvard College for the time being, before the person chosen to that office had accepted the duty and trust thereof. It passed in the negative, *nemine contradicente*. Wm. Dudley Speaker." This decided Mr. Colman to give his final answer in the negative.

Those who consider how few, at any time, among the great number of individuals distinguished for their endowments and virtues in the various departments of life, possess the requisite qualifications for the presidency of a college, will readily conceive that the Corporation must have experienced no small difficulty in finding a suitable person to fill the vacant office. Accordingly it was nearly six months before they came to another choice. At length in June, 1725, they fixed upon the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, Pastor of the First Church in Boston. The Overseers approved the choice June 10th, and appointed a Committee for similar purposes with those mentioned in the account of the previous appointments. They were moreover

to request the General Court, in addition to an "honourable salary," to provide "a suitable habitation for his reception at Cambridge." He accepted the appointment, evidently more from a sense of duty, than from any desire, either for its cares or its honors.

His inauguration took place on Commencement day, July 7th, 1725, and was remarkable for its simplicity. The following account of it is taken from the records of the Overseers:

"Commencement Day, July 7, 1725.

"The Overseers and the Corporation went, in the usual form, to the meetinghouse, on the Commencement-day morning; where, after the morning prayer, made by Mr. Coleman, Mr. President Wadsworth being in the pew with His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, His Honor was pleased to make the following speech to him:

'REV'D SIR,

'You being duly elected and approved to be the President of Harvard College, I doe accordingly, in the name of the Overseers, invest you with the government thereof, in the same extent as any of your predecessors, Presidents of Harvard College, have been heretofore vested; and deliver to you the keys, with these books and papers, as badges of your authority; confiding, that you will govern the society with loyalty to our sovereign lord, King George, and obedience to his laws, and according to the Statutes and Rules of the said College.'

"To which speech Mr. President Wadsworth returned the following answer:

'I thankfully acknowledge the respect shewn mee by the reverend Corporation, especially by your Honor and the honored and reverend Overseers. I freely

own myself unworthy of the honor, and unequal to the labours of the important office to which I am called. But I think the call of Providence (which I desire to eye in all things) is so loud and plain, that I dare not refuse it. I desire to have my whole dependence on the great God, my Saviour, for all the wisdom and grace needful for mee in this weighty service. I hope by His help I shall show all proper allegiance to our sovereign lord, King George, and obedience to his laws in this province, and endeavour to promote the same amongst all I shal be concerned with. I shal endeavour to take the best care I can of the College, directing and ordering the members and affairs of it according to the Constitution, Laws, and Statutes thereof. I desire the earnest prayers of God's people, that the God of all grace would make mee faithful and successful in the very great service I am called to.'

"After which the President went up into the pulpit and called for the Salutatory Oration, and moderated one of the Batchelder's questions ; and so the forenoon exercise ended."

The General Court had already taken measures for his support and accommodation. Immediately after the Committee of the Overseers had waited upon them, to give notice that Mr. Wadsworth was to be President of the College, and to ask for an allowance from the public Treasury, a Committee of both Houses was appointed "to inquire into and examine the state of the Colledge Treasury and Revenues, and how the same is appropriated and disposed of, and to inquire into the Rents and profits of the *New Colledge* or *Massachusetts-Hall*." They were to make report at the next session, but in the mean time were to procure a house for the temporary residence of the Presi-

dent. The Court also voted him one hundred and fifty pounds "to enable him to enter upon and manage the great affair of President of Harvard College to which he is appointed."

The Committee made their report at the following session in December; and, after some disagreement between the two Houses as to the allowance for the President's support, it was finally resolved, that he should be allowed from the public Treasury seventy pounds, which, with the hundred and fifty pounds previously granted, and the sum remaining in the hands of the Corporation for the rent of Massachusetts-Hall for the first five years, and the rent of the same Hall for the current year (which the Court ordered to be paid to him), making in all the sum of four hundred pounds, "the Court were of opinion was a sufficient and honorable support for him the said President for one year." That he might be "further encouraged cheerfully to go through the momentous affairs of his office," he was to be allowed the future annual rents of Massachusetts-Hall during his continuance in the said office. The sum of one thousand pounds was also granted from the public Treasury to the Corporation of Harvard College to be used by them "for the building and finishing a handsome wooden dwelling-house, barn, out-houses, &c., on some part of the lands adjacent and belonging to the said College, for the reception and accommodation of the Reverend President of Harvard College, for the time being."

In signifying their concurrence with the House in the above vote, the Council expressed an "opinion, it would be best for the Corporation to be at liberty for the disposal of the £1,000, either to build or *buy* a house for the President, as their prudence shall

direct and guide them." This was probably with reference to the mansion-house of the late President Leverett, now occupied by President Wadsworth. As early as June, 1724, an humble address of the Corporation, praying that the General Court would purchase that place, which was contiguous to the College lands, "to be the seat and habitation of the Presidents of Harvard Colledge, in times to come," was read in the Council and "sent down recommended." The House do not appear to have ever acted upon this application; but they now passed a vote not to allow the Corporation the liberty of building or buying as proposed by the Council. This was not the only instance of posthumous disregard, not to say hostility, which that excellent man appears to have experienced from the popular branch of the Legislature.

Repeated appeals to their justice and liberality, from the children and heirs of President Leverett, Mrs. Wigglesworth and Mrs. Denison, were rejected by them, though it was shown that, "notwithstanding the allowance annually made him, he was not only necessitated to sink his yearly rents in his own estate, but also fell in debt one hundred pounds per year during the time of his being President," which was sixteen years; and they were rejected in opposition to the support of the Honorable Council, who, in December, 1726, passed the following vote: "It appearing to this Board, upon consideration of the petition of Mrs. Sarah Wigglesworth and Mrs. Mary Denison, that the matters therein contained are justly represented; and that the salary of the late Mr. President Leverett, was not sufficient for his honorable support in that important office; and that he had no allowance for a house for several years before his death, which has been always

granted to other Presidents: and it being the opinion of this Board, that the justice and honour of this Court is much concerned in making compensation to the heirs of the said President for the loss accruing to his estate thereby, through the insufficiency of his allowance:

“Ordered, That a message be sent down to the Honourable House of Representatives, earnestly recommending to them the consideration of the said petition.”

But, notwithstanding appearances, the House may have been actuated, in this case, less by unkind feelings towards the late President, or his family and friends, than by considerations of a different nature. It is evident, indeed, even from the above resolve, that they felt the demands of the College upon the Treasury to be somewhat burthensome; and that, dear as the institution certainly was to them, they were disposed to leave as much to be effected by its own resources as possible; which, on the whole, regard being had to all the objects to be provided for, will probably be regarded as the best policy, not only as respects the public purse, but for the College itself. That Harvard College has from the beginning enjoyed the fostering care of the Government, and has been thus enabled to grow and flourish and become what it now is, reflects no small credit on the successive rulers and generations of Massachusetts. To inquire whether more might not have been done for it, conveniently and advantageously, at some particular periods or junctures, would now be of little use. On the occasion of Mr. Wadsworth's appointment, the Court appear to have done as much as was then deemed necessary; and for the grants they made, the President and Fellows

returned them "their sincere and hearty thanks." The Corporation found it would cost, to build the President's house and out-houses, about eight hundred in addition to the thousand pounds which had been voted by the General Court; and they petitioned the Court for an allowance of that sum from the Treasury; but the House refused to make any further grant for that object. The Court however, during the same session voted, "that the sum of three hundred and sixty pounds be allowed and paid out of the public Treasury to the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, President of Harvard College in Cambridge, to enable him to manage the weighty and important affairs of that Society the year current, the money to be paid him quarterly;" and, each year, during his life, they passed a similar vote for the allowance of the same sum.

Individual munificence, also, continued to promote the growth and prosperity of this institution. Benefits still flowed in upon it from the generous spirit of Thomas Hollis, as from "a living spring whose waters fail not."¹ The account he had received from Mr. Cooke, of the "very bad state and condition of the College," seems not to have made any lasting impression upon him. He had probably ascertained that it originated in party prejudice. For some years he appears to have been meditating the establishment of a professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; but "the first distinct notice which he gave of his intention to found this professorship is contained in a letter to Dr. Colman, January, 1726."² He immediately carried this intention into effect. As in the case of the Divinity Professorship, his Rules and Orders

¹ Colman's Sermon, p. 3.

² Overseers' Records.

were signed by him after having been submitted to the revision of those who were to execute them, and received such amendments as they thought expedient.

“All eyes were turned on Isaac Greenwood, who had been graduated in 1721, as the most promising candidate for this office; and a visit to England about this time, enabled him to qualify himself more perfectly for the expected appointment. Mr. Hollis saw him frequently while abroad, and afforded him all the facilities in his power, but did not attempt to conceal from his American correspondents his dissatisfaction from the first, with many things in the manners and conduct of the young traveller.”¹ Mr. Greenwood was elected in May, 1727; was accepted by Mr. Hollis; and February 13th, 1728, was inaugurated as “Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy.”

“A fact is disclosed in Mr. Hollis’s correspondence, which makes his readiness to comply with the wishes of the Corporation in this appointment, a work of uncommon magnanimity. After he had begun to suspect Mr. Greenwood’s unfitness for the place, he suggested another candidate; a gentleman whom he had himself assisted in pursuing his studies on the Continent, and who could bring the most flattering testimonials from the first scholars in Europe. But then he was a Baptist, of the same denomination with Mr. Hollis himself, and this was an insuperable objection. His proposal was rejected.”²

In addition to the splendid gifts already particularized, Mr. Hollis sent over a Philosophical Apparatus, several boxes of valuable books, and Hebrew and

¹ Christian Examiner, VII. p. 89.

² Ibid. p. 90.

Greek types. The types, together with part of the books, were procured from others, whose benevolent feelings had been directed by him to a community three thousand miles distant. A remarkable sympathy with him in his zeal to benefit this College, was manifested by those who bore his name. His brothers, John and Nathaniel, and Thomas, his heir, the son of Nathaniel, enriched it with a number of presents, amounting to several hundred pounds sterling ; and it will hereafter be seen, that this interest in Harvard College descended, like an heir-loom, together with his estate.

“The last years of Mr. Hollis were occupied almost exclusively in deeds of public and private charity ; the tranquil and serene evening of a well-spent life. He died January 22d, 1731. The words of Professor Greenwood in this connexion are appropriate and beautiful :— ‘As in the vegetable kingdom, it is with a superior pleasure and expectation, that we consider the revival of such plants as have always been distinguished by the plenty and delicacy of their fruit ; so with earnest desires and hopes we should wait for the day, when we shall behold the resurrection of such as have distinguished themselves by acts of charity and bounty.’ ”¹

Respectful notice was taken of this event, both in this country and in England. The pulpit and the press proclaimed the sense which was entertained of his worth and of his claims to public gratitude. Not only was the occasion solemnized with due observances by the institution, which had partaken so liberally of his bounty ; but it drew from the government of the province those honorable attentions, which are

¹ Christian Examiner, VII. p. 91.

reserved for distinguished benefactors of their race. A feeling and eloquent discourse, "by his friend and correspondent, Benjamin Colman," was preached soon after news of the event reached here, before the Governor and General Court; and in their vote of thanks to the preacher, Mr. Hollis's services to the province are gratefully recognised.

Whatever reason there may have been for suspecting, that the natural expressions of gratitude, during his lifetime, from those who were the subjects of his bounty, were, as is suggested by the writer who has supplied such copious extracts, not unmingled with the too customary artifices of cupidity, it will not be pretended that these posthumous honors are liable to any such imputation.

Mr. Hollis "had a competent knowledge of Latin and French, and wrote his own language with as much correctness and facility as most of the divines of that day. He appears to have carried the exact and methodical habits of a merchant into all his affairs, and annoyed the government of the College incessantly with complaints about their loose way of doing business. He was plain and downright in his manners, and sometimes, it would seem, a little testy.¹

"Nobody can read his letters without being convinced that he was actuated by a sincere, consistent,

¹ Professor Wigglesworth, the father, wrote a fine, thick, and cramped hand, which it was almost impossible to decypher. Mr. Hollis begins one of his letters to him thus;—"Mr. Professor, Dear Sir; I have received your letter, dated July 11, which I doubt not is very good, but in so small a character I must guess at the sense. I beseech you, if you write any business that requires an answer, never write to me any more so. If you will not write larger (for I doubt not but you can), get some one to transcribe it in a character I may read; or else never write to me again. It is a pain to me, who value Mr. Wigglesworth, to think or find I cannot read his letters."

and rational piety ; and that his liberality to Harvard College grew out of a conviction that he was aiding to build up an institution dedicated to Christ and the Church.

“ In politics, Mr. Hollis, with the Dissenters generally, was a staunch Whig. The only family of much consideration in public life, with which he appears to have associated on terms of intimacy, was that of the Shutes, and particularly with John, the youngest brother, afterwards created Viscount Lord Barrington,” the celebrated author of *Miscellanea Sacra*, and other valuable writings.

“ He was a Dissenter, ‘rooted and grounded’; and, if there was any subject on which his accustomed charity and candor failed him, it was this. We should remember, however, that he wrote under a keen sense of political wrongs, that the fanaticism preached up by Sacheverell was still fresh in his recollections, and that he honestly believed, and not without reason, that the hierarchy wanted but the power, and there would be an end to English liberty.” He manifested no bitterness, however, towards the establishment; it was foreign from his nature to do it; and there appears no reason for thinking, that Episcopalians were excluded from the pale of his beneficence. Indeed, Mr. Rudd, in a note to a poem on his death, observes; “The grand design of Mr. Hollis’s bounties to New England, as I have been informed, was to cultivate a good understanding and friendship between such as were in communion of the Church of England and the Dissenters in those parts.”

Nothing is more remarkable in the benevolence of Mr. Hollis, than its freedom from the alloy of party feeling; and for nothing has he been more generally

or more justly honored. Dr. Hunt, Mr. Rudd, Professor Wigglesworth, and Dr. Colman have been careful in their several performances upon his death, not to omit this noble feature in his disposition. A passage relating to it in Dr. Colman's Discourse belongs more particularly to the history of the College. "To the honor," says he "of my country, I must add, that it was some account Mr. Hollis received from us of the free and catholic air we breathe at our Cambridge, where Protestants of every denomination may have their children educated and graduated in our College, if they behave with sobriety and virtue, that took his generous heart and fix'd it on us, and enlarg'd it to us. And *this* shall be with me among his distinguishing *praises*, while we rise up and bless his memory; *i. e.* bless God in the remembrance of all the undeserved favours done us by Him."¹

And this comprehensiveness of his bounty will be "among his distinguishing praises" with the wise and virtuous of all times; for it shows him to have been uniformly prompted by a desire of doing good, so vigorous and active, as to require no excitement from intolerant zeal, no contraction within narrow limits to give it elasticity and force.

"The Dissenting interest was sustained at this time almost exclusively by the 'three denominations,' as they are called, the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists. Mr. Hollis went with the last, a preference early formed, as he says, on inquiry and conviction, and held through life, but without the smallest mixture of bigotry or exclusiveness against the others."²

¹ Colman's Funeral Sermon, p. 5.

² Christian Examiner, VII. pp. 93, 94.

In New England the situation of the Baptists had become greatly ameliorated, since the time when violent methods were used to crush them; but, though no longer harassed by persecution, they were yet far from being regarded with favor by the Congregationalists generally, and some in the College Government had a particular aversion to their tenets. Of this Mr. Hollis was not ignorant. "I have been prevailed on," says he, in a private letter to Dr. Colman, "at your instance, to sit the first time for my picture, a present to your Hall. I doubt not that they are pleased with my monies, but I have some reason to think, that some among you will not be pleased to see the shade of a Baptist hung there, unless you get a previous order to admit it, and forbidding any indecencies to it; for if they do, though I am at a distance, the birds of the air will tell it, and I shall be grieved, as I have been already."

He afterwards writes to President Leverett: "In compliance with your and the Corporation's request, which you with Mr. Colman made to me in your letter of February last, I now send you my shade by Capt. Cary, to be put up in your College Hall; and I desire their favorable acceptance of it. My wife, and some others of my family, seconded your letter, or else I should hardly have been so vain as to have attempted it. Perhaps some among you will be pleased with the picture for the painter's performance, though others may secretly despise it, because of the particular principle of the original. Let such know, I have read, believed, and practised upon conviction; and which among them who are thinkers can believe as they will, but upon evidence, as any doctrine appears to their minds, till they are better informed? And tell them,

Mr. Hollis means nothing by all he has done, and is doing, for your College, but for the glory of God, and the good of souls, by assisting them in their studies of the sacred writings, whereby the gospel of Christ Jesus, and the great truths therein contained, may be well proved and preached unto others; that, by the influences of the Holy Spirit attending their ministry, men may come to be sincere Christians, evidencing it in faith and practice, without any regard to either of the three denominations, or parties of Protestant Dissenters. To all of such I desire to express my Christian charity."

"Though not attaching much importance to the peculiarities of the Baptists, he was a true friend to the sect, and availed himself of every opportunity to serve them. In one of his letters to Dr. Colman, he says:

"‘I have given some intimation to the Baptist churches in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, of my design in your College for promoting learning. They have many churches and preachers among them, by the accounts sent me, but I find not one preacher among them that understands the languages. If any from those parts should now, or hereafter, make application to your College, I beseech them, the College, to show kindness to such, and stretch their charity a little. It is what I wish the Baptists would do, though I have no great expectation, as what I think would be for advantage of the Christian faith; especially while there are so many Quakers among them.’" ¹

But if it may be said of this illustrious benefactor, that he appears,

— "velut inter ignes
Luna minores;"

¹ Christian Examiner, VII. pp. 94, 95.

his splendid gifts must not preclude attention to the benefits conferred about the same period by other friends of the College. They were such, indeed, as to indicate that the interest felt in this institution had suffered no abatement.

In September, 1724, died very suddenly a great grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, and one of the brightest ornaments of Harvard College and of New England, the Hon. Gurdon Saltonstall, Governor of Connecticut, leaving to his *alma mater* a legacy of one hundred pounds.

His gifted and excellent widow, Madam Mary Saltonstall, died in 1730, and by her will increased her former bounty to the College by a legacy of one thousand pounds, "the income whereof to be improved for the assistance of two persons, who shall by the Overseers be esteemed of bright parts and good diligence, (always a Dissenter,) to fit them for the service of the Church of Christ," those related to her "by consanguinity to be preferred." Her gifts now constitute a fund of \$3899.97.

Another lady of that name, Madam Dorothy Saltonstall, who had been formerly the wife of John Frizell, Esq., bequeathed, in 1733, three hundred pounds for the benefit of two poor scholars.

A nephew of John Frizell, Esq., Mr. John Frizell, of Boston, merchant, in 1731, bequeathed two hundred and fifty pounds.

Mrs. Anne Mills bequeathed £50; John Walley, Esq., of Boston, £100; and Thomas Richards, Esq., £30.

The Hon. Thomas Fitch, of Boston, in 1737, left a legacy of "three hundred pounds for the education of scholars of good capacity for the work of the ministry."

Presents of plate were made to the College by different persons.

“In 1727, the Rev. Thomas Cotton of London gave £200, the income of £100 for the increase of the President’s salary, the other hundred to be laid out in books for the Library.”

The Library was also augmented by valuable donations from the Rev. Dr. John Guye, Mr. John Lloyd of London, Merchant, Doct. Richard Mead, D. James, Esq., and Bishop Berkeley. The great man last mentioned, so renowned in the learned world, and celebrated by his friend Pope as possessing “every virtue under Heaven,” honored this College with a visit, September 17th, 1731, and received the attentions which were due to his high character. The books presented by him were the Latin and Greek classics.¹

¹ Christian Examiner, VII. p. 91.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE condition of the College, however, does not appear, during this period, to have corresponded to the great things that were doing for it. It is not necessary, for the purpose of showing this, to transcribe from the records, acts which, though made to prevent irregularities of different kinds, might not be regarded as very material in this view ; — the act, for instance, passed in the latter part of President Leverett's time “for reforming the Extravagancys of Commencements,” and providing “that henceforth no preparation nor provision of either Plumb Cake, or Roasted, Boyled, or Baked Meates or Pyes of any kind shal be made by any Commencer,” and that no “such have any distilled Lyquours in his Chamber or any composition therewith,” under penalty of a fine of twenty shillings and forfeiture of the “prohibited provisions” ; — and the several acts passed early in the present administration “for preventing the Excesses, Immoralities, and Disorders of the Commencements,” for enforcing the foregoing act, providing particularly “that if any, who now doe or hereafter shall stand for their degrees, presume to doe any thing contrary to the said Act or goe about to evade it by *Plain Cake*,” they shall forfeit the honors of the College.

Acts of this description, as also a recommendation of the Overseers to the Corporation “to pass an act to

restrain unsuitable and unreasonable dancings in the College," and even a vote to prevent the recurrence of the "great disturbances occasioned by tumultuous and indecent noyses at the College," may be regarded, perhaps, rather as indications of the spirit of the times, than as evidences of any unusual corruption in this society. That the College was not in a very healthy state, however, at this time, the records contain evidences, which no such consideration can annul, though it may in some degree soften them.

A Committee, appointed by the Overseers November 1st, 1731, "to enquire into the state of the Government, Instruction, and Accompts of the College," &c. reported September 6th, 1732, "That the Government of the said College was but in a weak and declining state." The Committee then proposed a new body of Laws, &c.

The result was that a new body of Laws was made and finally "agreed to, both by the Overseers and Corporation."

It was voted, September 24th, 1734, "That it be recommended to the Corporation to get the new body of Laws translated into Latin," &c. The same day "it was published in the College Hall."¹

Previously to these proceedings, Harvard College experienced some agitation, in consequence of a religious explosion, which had taken place in Connecticut and thrown a gloom over New England. This was the declaration by the Rev. Timothy Cutler, Rector of Yale College, and one of the Tutors, with five clergymen in that vicinity, against the validity of Presbyterian ordination. A shock, so strange and vio-

¹ Overseer's Records.

lent, to the order of the New-England churches, filled the hearts of all pious Congregationalists with amazement and sorrow.

The Trustees of Yale College voted "to excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further service."¹ He then went to England, received Episcopal ordination, was honored with the degree of Doctor in Divinity from both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and soon afterwards came to Boston, where he was made Rector of Christ Church, which was founded for him.²

A deep interest was taken in the event by Harvard College, at the time of its occurrence. At the inauguration of Professor Wigglesworth, for instance, Mr. Colman, in his prayer upon that occasion, "bewailed what was befallen Yale College."³

¹ Clap's Hist. of Yale College, p. 32.

² Eliot's Biog. Dict., art. *Cutler*. Holmes's Amer. Annals, II. p. 143, note.

³ Chief Justice Sewall, in his Diary, has the following mention of it: "1722, 7ber 25, Tuesday. . . . Dr. I. Mather pray'd, much bewail'd the Connecticut Apostasie, that Mr. Cutler and others should say there was no minister in N. E."

The Rev. Dr. Eliot relates an anecdote of a somewhat earlier period, which shows the feelings of parties in relation to their mode of ordination. It happened in the case of Mr. Israel Chauncy, the son of President Chauncy. "Israel," says Dr. Eliot, "lived longer than the others; he was the youngest son, and died soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century. His ordination has generally been styled *the leather-mitten ordination*, and much ridicule has been thrown upon it by Episcopal writers. The fact was, that when he was settled, the laymen of the Council insisted upon *their right of laying on hands*, and one of the brethren forgot to take off his mitten; hence it has been made to appear as a ludicrous circumstance to lessen the solemnity of the Congregational mode of separating ministers. It was not long after this, that in Connecticut and Massachusetts the clergy deprived the brethren of this privilege. But could we now refuse them, if they insisted upon it?" — *Eliot's Biog. Dict.*, art. *Chauncy*, p. 101, note.

The interest felt at that time, however, was merely that of sympathy and of general concern. After the settlement of Dr. Cutler in Boston they began to entertain fears for their own safety; and they found themselves called upon to make a vigorous effort, to guard their sacred inclosure against the intrusion of Episcopacy.

Early in the year 1727, the Lieutenant-Governor informed the Overseers, that application had been made to him by the Rev. Dr. Cutler, to be notified to be present at their meeting. The question, whether he be notified, was debated in that body, and decided in the negative, "the Board apprehending that he is not entitled thereunto."

Not satisfied with this, he then made a *motion* to the Overseers, in *writing*, respecting his being entitled to be present at their meeting, which, in one instance, he had, in fact, been notified by the clerk to attend. The Board having maturely considered this motion, together with their constitution, voted, that they were of opinion, that the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler has not, nor ever had by the said constitution, a right to sit as an Overseer of Harvard College." A similar vote was passed upon the application of another Episcopal minister, the Rev. Samuel Myles, "that he might be notified, as *formerly*, to sit at the meeting of the Overseers of Harvard College."

But these gentlemen were not to be diverted from their purpose by an *opinion* of the Overseers. They prosecuted the affair like men who were in earnest, and, so far as appears, with no lack of diplomacy and management. There is some indication of this in a request they made to the Overseers for the names of the members present at the meeting when the above

vote, of which they had been furnished with a copy by the clerk, was passed,—a request which the Overseers, who appear to have been quite a match for their opponents throughout, refused to grant, “it not having been usual for the clerk in giving copies of the Overseers’ votes to affix their names.”

In the mean time “three petitions from the Clergy and others of the Church of England, in divers parts of New England,” were presented to the General Court, “praying that Timothy Cutler, Doctor of Divinity, and Samuel Myles, Master of Arts, as they are the present incumbents of Christ Church and his Majestie’s Chapel in Boston, within the County of Suffolk, may be deemed members of the Overseers of Harvard Colledge in Cambridge, and be restored to the rights of Overseers, and may, agreeably to custom, &c., be again notified and have seats at the meetings of the Overseers of Harvard Colledge, for the reasons therein mentioned.”¹

These petitions were referred to the next Fall Session; Mr. Secretary was directed to serve the Clerk of the Overseers with a copy, &c.² This was August 25th, 1727. An answer was prepared by a Committee of the Overseers, and was probably from the pen of that zealous and efficient friend of the College, the Rev. Dr. Colman; for his biographer, Mr. Turell relates, that “when above twenty years ago some Reverend Episcopal gentlemen endeavoured to push themselves into the oversight and government of it, he strenuously opposed them, and wrote a judicious and nervous answer to the memorial presented by them, which is found among his papers.”³ The sub-

¹ Journal of the House of Representatives, 1727, p. 106.

² Ibid.

³ Life of Colman, pp. 53, 54.

ject was accordingly brought forward at that session, and was debated December 27th, 1727, when the House, after duly considering the petition, the answer of the Overseers, and the reply of the petitioners to this answer, decided that it was not "within the intent and meaning of the Charter granted to the said College, that the Reverend memorialists ought to be deemed as members of the Board of Overseers thereof."¹

The House seem to have discovered that they had made a mistake, and referred to the wrong act; for on the 13th of January following, the vote, with the petitions, &c. which had been sent up to the Honorable Board for concurrence, were sent for; and it was voted, "that it was not within the meaning of the Act, &c., of 1642, that the Reverend memorialists should be deemed members of the Board of Overseers."

Not yet disposed to relinquish his pretensions, Dr. Cutler renewed his application to the Overseers, in a memorial dated June 11th, 1730; but, "inasmuch as the affair referred to in this memorial has been once and again maturely considered by this Board, and afterwards by the General Court upon his own appeal to them, and at length by them determined," the Overseers "voted that the said Memorial be dismissed," and "that a copy of the above vote be given by the Clerk to Dr. Cutler."²

Thus terminated an affair which had occasioned no small excitement in the community; and thenceforward the ecclesiastical part of the Board of Overseers was confined to ministers of the *Congregational* de-

¹ Journal of the House of Representatives, p. 49.

² Overseers' Records. — Did they find they had made a mistake in the first order? Was the above vote of the General Court the first decision of the question?

nomination, whose exclusive right to that privilege was afterwards fully recognised in the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts.

Dr. Cutler was educated at Harvard College in the time of President Mather, and ranks high among those of its sons that have conferred honor upon it by their talents and learning. He continued Rector of Christ Church till his death, which took place in 1765. According to the late Dr. Eliot, who, when a boy, must have often seen him, “he was haughty and overbearing in his manners; and to a stranger, in the pulpit, appeared as a man fraught with pride. He never could win the rising generation, because he found it so difficult to be condescending; nor had he intimates of his own age and flock. But people of every denomination looked upon him with a kind of veneration, and his extensive learning excited esteem and respect, where there was nothing to move, or hold the affections of the heart.”¹

¹ Eliot's Biog. Dict. p. 144.

CHAPTER XVIII.

It remains to give some account of the man who was at the head of the College, while these occurrences were taking place.

President Wadsworth's father was Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, who, with others, was killed in a battle with the Indians in 1676, at Sudbury, and to whom the filial piety of this son erected a monument, which is now standing, on or near the spot where the event happened. Benjamin was the seventh son, — a circumstance of more importance, probably, at that time, than it would be accounted now. He was born at Milton in Massachusetts in 1669; was educated in this College, where he took his first degree in 1690; was ordained, in 1696, as colleague pastor, with the Rev. James Allen of the first Church in Boston, where he had been preaching as a candidate since he took his degree of Master of Arts, in 1693; and in 1725, he acceded to the presidency of the College in the manner before related.

From his youth, he appears to have possessed the best disposition, and to have been one of those favored beings, so beautifully depicted by the pure and pious muse of Cowper:

“Some minds are tempered happily, and mixed
With such ingredients of good sense and taste
Of what is excellent in man, they thirst
With such a zeal to be what they approve,

That few restraints can circumscribe them more
Than they themselves by choice for wisdom's sake." ¹

While a student in the College, his conduct was that of a young man, who felt that he was there for the purpose of acquiring an education, and laying a solid foundation for future usefulness. He was therefore, not only beloved for his amiable qualities, but respected for his diligence, regularity, and proficiency in learning.

The dispositions and habits, which distinguished him here, accompanied him into the world, and gathered strength as he advanced in years. Divinity was his favorite study. He not only perused the Holy Scriptures, with the greatest care and attention, but treasured their contents in his mind, so that, as a textuary, he had scarcely an equal. His sermons, which were composed with great plainness, and studiously adapted to the apprehensions of his audience, were delivered from memory with great seriousness and effect. He was not fond of controversy, and therefore seldom preached upon the controverted points of theology, thinking that he was more profitably employed in inculcating the great practical duties of morality and religion.

In his style of preaching, in his manners, and deportment, he exemplified that "divine simplicity," which a just taste always seeks "in him who handles things divine". His ministrations were all marked with sincerity, gravity, and fervor. Prudent and cautious in his deliberations and measures, he was firm, steady, and active in the execution of whatever he undertook.

He was humble, mild, benevolent, and affable. Though a lover of peace, and careful to avoid displeasing or giving offence, he made no sacrifice of con-

* Task, B. II. p. 73.

science to popularity, "for it was his governing principle to manage in all his affairs, not as pleasing men, but God, that trieth the heart." ¹

An affectionate and faithful pastor, he was beloved, esteemed, and venerated by his flock. He devoted one tenth of his income to objects of charity.

To a calm and moderate temper he united a steady and uniform command of his passions. He was a model of patience, fortitude, and resolution ; qualities, which he had especial occasion to exert during his presidency, in consequence of an almost continual experience of bodily infirmity and suffering from his first assuming, when in the decline of life, the arduous cares of this important office. In this miserable state of health, his labors were seldom intermitted ; and to his friends who besought him to spare himself, he used to say, that he "would rather wear out than rust out". In the words of Mr Flynt —

"Nullus autem est, qui non agnoscit, quod cum modice convaluerit, et sanitas corporis eum quodammodo permiserit, constans fuit, et regularis in munere obeundo, et in omnibus partibus officii sui perficiendis. Quinimo tanta fuit in eo propensio ad opus proprium et debitum absolvendum, ut vires corporales frequenter excessit, illudque in posteriori suæ vitæ parte, magis atque magis constabat, adeo ut sæpe audivimus eum votum sui animi exprimentem, *se labore potius, quam rubigine, exolescere maluisse.*"

The termination of this virtuous and useful course was cheered, as well it might have been, with the most animating views of a future happy existence. He died March 16th, 1737, in the 68th year of his age, and 12th

¹ Appleton's Sermon.

of his presidency over Harvard College, leaving behind him a character in which there appears much to love and respect, and, to human eyes, nothing to condemn.

At his funeral which was solemnized with appropriate honors, Mr. Tutor Flynt delivered an eloquent and pathetic oration in Latin, which is still extant, and from which the foregoing extract is taken.

President Wadsworth left the College a legacy of one hundred and ten pounds, old tenor, for the benefit of poor scholars, those related to him by blood to be preferred.

He published, from time to time, sermons and other religious tracts, which together form a considerable list, and display the characteristic features of a mind intent on benefiting his fellow-men by promoting their advancement in knowledge, virtue, and piety.

This notice will be closed with an extract from Professor Wigglesworth's Sermon upon his death, which not only contains a just account of President Wadsworth, but furnishes a specimen of that eminent Professor's manner of writing.

“He had his education in this house, where I hope without flattery it may be said, that those who are disposed wisely to improve them, enjoy at least as many advantages to accomplish themselves for the service of their generation, as are to be met with in our own country. When he proceeded to settle in the Gospel ministry, the Holy Ghost made him overseer of a numerous flock in the metropolis of the province, in the generality of whose affections he was blessed with a very great interest. And as this gave him a singular advantage to promote the good of their souls; so it evidences the truth of their Christian self-denial and public spirit (which ought always to be remembered, and spoken of with honour) in consenting to the removal of one so

dear to them, to what they apprehended a station of more general usefulness and service. And so at length by the sovereign disposal of our ascended Lord, he was set at the head of this Society, in whose welfare and prosperity, both the civil and religious interests of the people of God in this land are so much concerned, that hardly any place can be tho't of, in which a servant of Christ hath opportunity to be a more extensive blessing.

“And to render him such a one in every station, the glorious Head of the Church had given him a very capacious and faithful memory, a sound understanding, a clear apprehension, and an uncommon faculty of making religious truths plain to the meanest capacities. But to crown all, our Saviour Jesus Christ had taken an early possession of the heart of this his servant for himself, had impressed it with a most affectionate concern for the souls of men, and had given him an indefatigable spirit to pursue their interests.”¹

During the presidency of Mr. Wadsworth, the following donations were made to the University.

In 1725, the General Court voted £1000, towards a house for the President. The College disbursed £613. 5s. 0d.

In 1727, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Cotton of London gave £200; the income of £100 for the increase of the President's salary; the other hundred to be laid out in books for the Library.

The Library was also increased by donations from the Rev. Dr. John Guyse, Mr. John Lloyd of London, Merchant, Doct. Richard Mead, and D. James, Esq.

In 1731, Mr. John Frizell of Boston, Merchant, nephew to John Frizell Esq., bequeathed £250 to the College.

¹ Wigglesworth's Sermon, pp. 8, 9.

In 1733, Madam Dorothy Saltonstall, late Widow of John Frizell Esq., bequeathed £300 for the benefit of two poor scholars.

In 1737, President Wadsworth bequeathed “£110, old tenor. Six pounds of the income to be for poor scholars relations of blood to be preferred.”

In 1730, Madam Mary Saltonstall bequeathed one thousand pounds — “the income to be disposed of by the Overseers to two persons of bright parts and good diligence (always a Dissenter) who hath not means of his own, her relations to be preferred.”

Some pieces of plate were, by different persons, given in President Wadsworth's time.

In 1725, the rents of Massachusetts Hall were appropriated to the President by the General Court.

In 1725, a legacy of Mrs. Anne Mills, amounting to £50, the income to be applied to the support of indigent students.

In 1733, a valuable collection of books procured by Bishop Berkeley.

In 1737, Hon. Col. Fitch [Hon. Thomas Fitch, of Boston] bequeathed £300 “for the education of scholars of good capacity for the work of the Ministry.”¹

¹ Donation Book, I.

CHAPTER XIX.

IN about a month after the death of President Wadsworth, it was voted by the Corporation that, "whereas the choosing of a President is a matter of great concern, it be proposed to the Honorable and Reverend Overseers, that they with the Corporation might spend some convenient time in prayer to God for his gracious direction in that important affair." It was also voted "that this Corporation do propose to proceed with all convenient speed to elect a successor in that office, and that this their purpose be laid before the Honorable and Reverend Board of Overseers at their next meeting for their counsel and consent."

These votes were laid before the Overseers, April 26th, 1737. The first vote was consented to, and it was decided that a meeting for the purpose proposed should be held on Wednesday the next week in the College Library; but instead of concurring in the last vote, the Overseers "counselled and advised" the Corporation to elect a president, after the meeting for prayer, on the same day.

The meeting was held according to appointment, on the 4th of May. The forenoon was spent in prayer. In the afternoon, "the Overseers having given their advice, by a Latin speech made by the Governor, to the Corporation about the general qualification of a President, the Corporation withdrew," and endeavoured to come to a choice twice; but were equally divided

between Mr. H. and Mr. G.,"¹ that is, Mr. Holyoke and Mr. Greenwood.

The Corporation then returned to the Overseers, and having informed them of their unsuccessful attempt and requested further time for deliberation, again withdrew. Before adjourning, the Overseers sent for them, and said, "that they expected the Corporation would present their choice of a President to them at their next meeting which would be on the 26th instant."

On the 20th of May the Rev. William Cooper was chosen President by the Corporation, and on the 26th was presented to the Honorable and Reverend Board for their acceptance ; but a letter from him to the Overseers, in which "he took this first opportunity wholly to excuse himself from that honour and trust," being read at the same time, they voted "that the Corporation be advised forthwith to proceed to the choice of a President."

The Gentleman, on whom this honor was conferred by the Corporation, was graduated at Harvard College in 1712, was ordained, as colleague pastor with Dr. Colman, of the church in Brattle Street, Boston, in 1716 ; and died in 1743, in the 50th year of his age. He was respectable for his learning, and a most impressive, serious preacher. He married a daughter of the Hon. Samuel Sewall, and was father of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Cooper.

It was now, probably, that the venerable minister of Marblehead interposed, in the manner related by Dr. Eliot. According to this writer, who refers to a manuscript in his possession, "Father Barnard says, 'that he went to Governor Belcher, and asked him why they chose one Boston minister after another, and neg-

¹ Rev. Dr. Sewall's MS. Diary.

lected the man who was most qualified to fill the chair of that seminary, his worthy brother Holyoke. His Excellency answered, that it would be agreeable to him if he were assured of his orthodoxy, but suspicions had been spread of his being liberal in his sentiments. He told him, that he was more acquainted with him than any other person, and he knew him to be sound in the faith.' " ¹

Whether in consequence of this interposition, or from any other cause, the Corporation soon elected the Rev. Edward Holyoke President by a unanimous vote, and on the 20th of June the choice was unanimously approved by the Overseers at one of the fullest meetings on record in the books of that board. A committee was appointed to inform the General Court of this election, and "to desire that the Court would please to consider of an honorable support for the said Mr. Holyoke and whatsoever else they may judge necessary to encourage and facilitate his settlement in said office." The Committee was also to desire Mr. Holyoke's acceptance of the office and the consent of his church to his removal from them to this important station.

The subject was taken up by the House of Representatives with all convenient speed; and on the 8th of June it was voted, "That the Treasurer of Harvard College be directed to lay before the House an Account of the State of their Treasury relating to the Donations and Moneys given them, which are not appropriated by the Donors; and also an Account of the usual and annual Payments and Dispositions of the Issues and Profits thereof, that so the House may act on the said Message with more Knowledge." ²

¹ Eliot's Biog. Dict. art. *Holyoke*.

² Mass. Journ., 1737, p. 31.

An account of the state of the Treasury was accordingly presented to the House by the 'Treasurer of the College, the Honorable Edward Hutchinson, on the 15th of the same month. The next day the House assumed the consideration of Mr. Holyoke's support, and while they were in debate, the Committee of the Overseers again entered and communicated the following report which had been made to that board.

“The Committee of the Board of Overseers appointed for the purpose, according to the annexed vote, having been at *Marblehead*, and communicated to the Rev. Mr. *Holyoke* and his Church the Choice of him to the Presidentship of *Harvard College*; received for Answer, That the people under the pastoral care of Mr. *Holyoke* transacted their affairs in the way of a propriety, and therefore had agreed upon Monday the 27th of *June* instant for a meeting of that society, to give their answer; and the Rev. Mr. *Holyoke* did acquaint us that he was under strict covenant with his people not to part with them, unless the settlement of another minister was made in such manner as that his people might not suffer thereby, or be at the expence thereof, they being small and in danger of some division and difficulties upon his removal; and that if provision was made in this respect, his way would be more clear before him, and that he would with all convenient speed after the society's meeting, consider of and return his final answer to the motion of his removal.

WILLIAM DUDLEY,
In the Name of the Committee.

“At a Meeting of the Overseers *June* 16th, 1737. *Voted*, That the Committee appointed to wait on the

Reverend Mr. *Holyoke* and his Church, in reference to his acceptance of the choice made of him to be President of *Harvard College*, do wait on the General Court, and lay before them the Report now offered to the Board of Overseers."

HENRY FLYNT,
Curatorum Clericus."

The subject was then resumed and fully debated. The result of the whole was that, "In as much as the College derived their Constitution from the General Court of the late Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, and the Assembly of this Province have from time to time chearfully granted considerable sums of money for the erecting sundry buildings for the more commodious reception of the Fellows, Tutors, Graduates, and Students there, and have also lately built a convenient dwelling-house for, and furthermore have at all times readily afforded their aid and assistance in supporting of, the President as the matter required, and all this in expectation of, and dependance upon their close adherence to their Constitution, and so answering the great and good designs of founding said College, the House came into the following vote, viz.

"This House think it reasonable, that while the circumstances of the College shall require it, and they adhere to their Charter and Constitution thus given them, there be allowed to the President a suitable and ample support:

"And therefore it is Ordered, That there be and is hereby granted unto the Reverend Mr. Edward Holyoke to be paid out of the publick Treasury the sum of *two hundred pounds* of the bills of credit on this Province of the new tenour, over and above the rents of

the *Massachusetts Hall*, for the space of one year from the time of his instalment, residing at *Cambridge* and performing the duties of said office; the money to be paid him quarterly.

“ In consideration of the state and circumstances the society under the present pastoral care of the Reverend Mr. Holyoke of Marblehead will be in, upon his removal to Harvard College in Cambridge :

“ *Ordered*, That the sum of *one hundred and forty pounds*, in bills of public credit of the new tenour, be granted to the society in *Marblehead* under the pastoral care of the Reverend Mr. *Edward Holyoke*, lately chosen President of *Harvard College*, to encourage and facilitate the settlement of a Minister there, upon Mr. *Holyoke's* acceptance of the Presidentship, and his removal from them; the said sum to be allowed and paid out of the public Treasury to the order of the said society for the ends before mentioned, upon the ordination of Mr. *Holyoke's* successor.”

What a contrast between the proceedings of the popular branch of the Legislature on this occasion, and their conduct when Dr. Colman was chosen President! Had the House refused, at this time as they did then, to vote a salary, before the appointment was accepted, it might have been thought that they acted in the case of Dr. Colman, not from passion or caprice, but from a settled principle of policy; and what was prudent forecast in that Reverend gentleman, might possibly have been regarded as unreasonable distrust.

Mr. Holyoke having declined “managing the affairs of the approaching Commencement,” Mr. Tutor Flynt was appointed to officiate upon the occasion. He accordingly presided and conferred the degrees.

On the 4th of August the Clerk of the Overseers was directed to acquaint Mr. Holyoke that his letter of acceptance had been received, and he was desired to remove to the College as soon as he could with conveniency ; and soon afterwards the Governor appointed the 28th of September, 1737, for his induction into the office. A meeting for the purpose being held on that day, "the Governour led the President from the Library down to the Hall, the library-keeper carrying the books, charter, laws, and College seal, and the Butler the keys, before them ; and the Overseers with the Corporation followed into the Hall, which was soon filled with scholars and gentlemen. Dr. Sewall began the solemnity with prayer ; then the Governour made a speech in Latin, delivering the charter, keys, &c. The President followed with another in the same language, and the Governour concluded with a short Latin speech. Then Mr. Barnard, Master of Arts, made a Latin congratulatory oration ; the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince made the last prayer, and part of the 78th psalm was sung, and the solemnity was concluded with a dinner in the Hall."¹

On the 19th of October following, President Holyoke, having incurred considerable expense in removing from Marblehead, and received no salary to the time of his inauguration, the House of Representatives voted him £33. 3s. 8d., in "bills of the new tenor."

These favors of the General Court demanded a respectful acknowledgment, which was presented to

¹ Overseers' Records.

them during the session. On the 22d of December “The House, being informed the Rev. the President and Corporation of Harvard College were attending at the door, and desired admittance, they were accordingly admitted in, and Mr. President in the name and at the desire of the said Corporation, acquainted Mr. Speaker and the House, they had prepared, and took this opportunity of presenting their humble address to the Great and General Court, setting forth their hearty thanks for the various favours received from them, more especially in the grants passed the last May session, relating to the President’s settlement, and also for the grant made the society at Marblehead, of which Mr. President was pastor, the better to enable them to settle another minister, with their hearty prayers that his Excellency and the Court may be continued under the divine influences.

“The address being read, Mr. President with the Corporation withdrew.”¹

A few days afterwards the House voted £40 in “bills of the new tenor to the four present Tutors of Harvard College, in consideration of their extraordinary services” during the interval that the College was without a President.

It was ordered, January 16th, 1739, “that the sum of two hundred pounds of new-tenor bills be granted and allowed to be paid out of the publick Treasury to the Reverend Mr. Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard College, over and above the rents of Massachusetts-Hall, for the space of one year, to be paid him quarterly, the year beginning in September last.

¹ Journal of House of Representatives, 1737, p. 104.

Two days afterwards President Holyoke presented a memorial to the General Court on this subject ; and on being admitted into the House, he “spoke to his memorial, and then withdrew.” In the afternoon of the same day, it was ordered, after a full debate, that “one hundred pounds of the new-tenor bills should be allowed him from the public Treasury, in consideration of his extraordinary expences since the time of his instalment to this day.”

In July, 1740, he was allowed £600 in “bills of the old tenor, or bills of the new tenor equivalent thereto.” After that we meet with no grant to him till the 9th of January, 1741 – 2, when was voted “the sum of £150 per annum, for one year and a half (bills to be emitted in the supply bill now before the Court)” ; but, upon his application, the sum of £50 of “the last emission” was, in June following, added to his annual salary.

From that time the allowance annually made to him (which was always “over and above the rents of Massachusetts-Hall”) varied for the most part from £200 to £300, Massachusetts currency. The sums generally voted were £250 or £200, which last amount was his allowance during the latter years of his presidency.

February 19th, 1756, immediately after the House had voted to the President the usual annual grant, then £250, it was ordered, that Mr. Speaker [the Hon. Thomas Hubbard], Mr. Gibbs, and Col. Otis, be a committee to confer with the Rev. President of Harvard College, to enquire into the conditions of his settlement in that office, and whether the engagements then made him have been fulfilled ; and report thereon.” The Committee made their report on the 17th

of April following, in which, after reciting in substance the vote passed June 16th, 1737, previously to the settlement of President Holyoke, they proceed to state, “That the said Edward Holyoke, in expectation and confidence, that this government would afford him a suitable and ample support, accepted that trust, and removed with his family to Cambridge, and has ever since performed the duties of his said office.

“That the grants since made, the Reverend the President, together with the perquisites of his said office, have fallen so far short of affording him a suitable and ample support, as that he has been obliged to apply the proceeds of the sale of his mansion-house at Marblehead, and the rents of his own and his present wife’s estate, for the support of himself and family.

“That barely the principal sums, he has so expended of his own estate, amount to more than nine hundred and fifty pounds lawful money; and could he have put the same on interest as he received it, and continued it so to this time, only the simple interest thereof would have amounted to above five hundred and ninety pounds more. And that of the proceeds of the sale of his house, which was fifteen hundred pounds old tenor in 1739, his rents, perquisites, gifts, and grants of the Government, he had only one hundred pounds lawful money left, when his salary was granted him this year. Signed, T. HUBBARD *per order.*”

It was then ordered, “That this report be committed, and that James Bowdoin, Esq., and Mr. Tyng, be added to the Committee, and that they make enquiry what sums have been received by the Reverend

President from time to time, in consequence of his being in that place, either by virtue of grants of the General Court, rents or fees, and report thereon.”¹

This Committee were directed by the House, Feb. 24th, 1757, to report at the next session. Being informed that they were not ready to do it then, the House voted “that the consideration of that affair be referred to the next May session”; and thus the affair appears to have terminated.

How far the subsequent grants of the Legislature corresponded to its engagements, or at least to the expectations and wants of the President, an opinion may be formed in some measure from the records in the Journals of the House of Representatives. It should, however, be borne in mind, that Massachusetts, while a province of Great Britain, abounded far less in wealth than in virtue; less in gold and silver than in spirit and intelligence; and that, in compliance with circumstances, the salaries of all her officers were adapted to a scale of the most rigid economy; not to mention the exhausted state of her resources, occasioned, particularly, by the wars with the French.

Annual grants were made to other officers of the College besides the President, as will be seen hereafter. The grants were made to them at the same time with those to public functionaries. “The House entered into the consideration of proper grants to *civil* officers,” and then voted, first a sum of money to the Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature, next to the President of the College, the Secretary of the

¹ Mass. Journal, 1756, pp. 479, 480.

Province, and so on through a list of persons who rendered services to the public in various capacities, including certain officers of the College. It was commonly in the winter session that this business was done.

CHAPTER XX.

THE first important measure, adopted by the College Government after President Holyoke's induction, was one of a very painful nature. It was the dismissal of Professor Greenwood. December 7th, 1737, the Corporation voted to remove him from his office. From a spirit, however, of extreme forbearance, the Overseers deferred their decision till July 13th, 1738, when they passed their final vote, confirming the act of the Corporation. He held his office ten years and five months (from the time of his inauguration); and might have continued to hold it, with credit to himself and benefit to the College, had his wisdom and firmness been equal to his acknowledged abilities.¹

He published "a philosophical Discourse concerning the Mutability and Changes of the Material World; read to the Students of Harvard College, April 7, 1731, upon the news of the death of Thomas Hollis Esq. of London, the most bountiful Benefactor to that Society." It abounds with marks, not only of a philosophical spirit, but of a lively fancy. With some alterations, principally verbal, it might be rendered, what would now be called, an elegant discourse. The most interesting part of it is that in which, five years before

¹ He was elected in May, 1727, not quite six years after he was graduated, which was in 1721. Installed Feb. 13th, 1728. He was a classmate of two persons, who were greatly distinguished in their day, Dr. Charles Chauncy and Chief-Justice Stephen Sewall.

Butler published his celebrated work, he argues from the analogy of nature in favor of man's resurrection.

Little is known of him after his dismissal. He went to Charleston, South Carolina, and there he died October 22d, 1745.²

At the time of this excision of a diseased limb from the venerable trunk of Harvard, a young shoot of extraordinary vigor and promise was fortunately at hand, and ready for insertion into the vacant place.

The Corporation elected Mr. John Winthrop to fill the office, and presented him to the Overseers for their approval. The Overseers, Oct. 3d, 1738, voted "that a Committee be appointed to examine Mr. John Winthrop as to his knowlege in the Mathematicks, and that Col. William Dudley, Mr. President, and Mr. Danforth be the Committee aforesaid. Upon a motion made the question was put whether a Committee be appointed to examine Mr. Winthrop about his principles of religion before the approbation of him by the Overseers, and it passed in the negative."

On the 19th of the same month the Committee reported "that they had examined him as to his skill and knowledge in sundry parts of the Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy, and are of opinion, that he has made very great proficiency therein and is well qualified to sustain the office he is chosen to."

It was than moved that "the vote of the last meeting respecting the examination of Mr. Winthrope as to his principles of religion, be reconsidered;" but it was voted that the further consideration of this subject be referred to the second Thursday of the next sessions of

¹ Butler's Analogy was first printed in 1736.

² Winthrop's MS. Catalogue.

the General Court, and that the members of the six towns be notified."

Accordingly, Dec. 7th, 1738, at the fullest meeting on record, excepting that in which the election of Mr. Holyoke was confirmed, "after a long debate the question was put again, whether a Committee be appointed to examine Mr. Winthrop about [his] principles of religion ; and it passed in the negative.

It appears to have been thought by the liberal-minded majority, that a particular theological creed would render a man neither a better nor a worse instructor of Philosophy, and accordingly they now confirmed the election of the Corporation ; satisfied, it should seem, with knowing, that while the requisite qualifications for discharging the appropriate duties of the office were possessed by Mr. Winthrop in an eminent degree, the young man's deportment was in all respects correct and exemplary.

This immunity, however, seems to have been confined to the Professor of Mathematics. Even the Tutors were examined as to their religious principles ; and, no doubt, for this reason, that they, as well as the President and the Professor of Divinity, were at that period required, not only to perform religious services in the chapel, but to give religious instruction to their respective classes.

A few years before this, it appears, that the *French* instructor had been charged with propagating "dangerous errors" among the undergraduates, and examined upon that subject ; and the following proceedings took place in the Board of Overseers on that occasion :

"May 13, 1735. The Committee report, that upon discoursing with the Rev'd President and Tutors who had examined Mr. Longloissorie and a number of his

scholars, it did not appear, that Mr. Longloissorie had vented any of his dangerous errors among the undergraduates, nor that they had been embraced by any of the graduates to whom he had freely communicated them. But upon discoursing [with] Mr. Rogers, one of the Tutors, on occasion of the reports concerning him which were brought to this Board, he appeared to think it a hardship that he should be examined as to his particular sentiments on the said heads when there had been no express charges laid in against him, and declined to give us any such answers as might enable us to report him free and clear of those opinions." It was voted, that the President and Tutors have not power by any law to introduce or permit any person to instruct scholars in arts or languages in this Society; and, therefore, the permission some time since given by them to Mr. Longloissorie to teach the French tongue is in itself void; and, in as much as this Board judge it not consistent with the safety of the College, that the said Mr. Longloissorie should continue to teach the French Language there any longer, it was further voted, that the President and Tutors be directed to forbid the Students, whether graduates or undergraduates, from attending on his instructions, either within the College walls or elsewhere.

"Upon debate had on the second paragraph of this Report, the Board think it proper to assert and declare their right to examine into the principles of all those that are employed in the instruction of the Students of the College upon any just suspicion of their holding dangerous tenets, altho' no express charge be layed in against them; and that it be recommended to the Corporation to take due care as to the principles of such persons as shall from time to time be chosen by

them into any office of instruction ; and that no person chosen into such an office shall be accepted or continued who refuseth, when desired, to give satisfaction to this Board as to their principles in religion.”¹

Mr. Winthrop was inaugurated in the College Hall January 2d, 1739. “The Corporation and Overseers went down from the Library into the Hall and took their places at several tables.” The ceremonies were similar to those at the instalment of his predecessor. “Some stanzas of Psalm 148 were sung, and the Overseers and Corporation went up to the Library, whilst the tables were spread, and returned with other gentlemen to dinner in the College Hall.”²

¹ Overseers' Records.

[² The ceremonies of inauguration, in the case of Mr. Winthrop's predecessor, Mr. Greenwood, are thus described in the Overseers' Records :

“Feb. 13, 1727-8. At an Overseers' Meeting at the College, being the day of the inauguration of Mr. Isaac Greenwood to be Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, the President being ill, Mr. Flynt was desired by the Corporation to direct the affair of the inauguration, to begin with prayer and make an introductory speech ; which speech (in Latin) being finished, Mr. Professor Wigglesworth was desired [to read] Mr. Hollis's Rules and Statutes respecting the Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy. Then the oaths to the Civil Government were read by Mr. Sever, and repeated verbatim by Mr. Greenwood ; and, being thus read over and repeated, the printed copies of them were signed by Mr. Greenwood who was thus sworn before the Hon'ble Coll. Tayler and Coll. Byfield, the two first Councillors present. After this Mr. Greenwood was desired by Mr. Flynt to express his declarations and promises agreeable to the 12th and 13th articles of the Rules. Then Mr. Flynt called for Mr. Greenwood's Inaugural Oration ; which Oration (in Latin) being finished, Mr. Flynt asked leave of the Overseers and Corporation to declare Mr. Greenwood *Hollisian* Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy in Harvard College ; and accordingly publicly declared him so. After this Mr. Appleton was desired to make the last prayer ; then the two first with the two last staves of the 104th Psalm were sung and the whole Company went to dinner in the College Hall.” — *Overseers' Records*. The Statutes of this, and other professorships, will be found in the Appendix to the present work. EDIT.]

A Committee which had been appointed to inquire into the state of the College, made a favorable report, April 29th, 1740. They say, that “upon enquiry made of the Rev’d President, Tutors, and Professors they doe find, that the exercises required by law are statedly attended, and that the body of laws lately made for the Government of the College doe in a good measure answer their end and prove beneficial to the Society, and that at present there does not appear occasion for any new laws to be made, nor doe the Committee apprehend it needful to lay any new proposals before the Board of Overseers.”¹

It was not long before the College was visited by another occurrence of the same unhappy nature with that of the dismissal of Professor Greenwood. An examining Committee of the Overseers reported to that board, Oct. 21st, 1741. “That Mr. Nathan Prince, one of the Tutors had been complained of by the President and Fellows, of several great misdemeanours ;” and it was voted, that the President and Tutors draw up their complaint “in certain articles.” Articles were accordingly submitted to the Board, at a meeting in November; they charged him with various instances of indecent and irregular deportment ; and, though some of them exhibited him only in a ludicrous and even

¹ [Extracts from these laws which were adopted in 1734, will be found in the Appendix. The requisitions for admission into the College at that period, now just a century ago, are thus stated in them :

“Whoever by an examination by the President and two at least of the Tutors shall be found able extempore to read, construe, and parse Tully, Virgil, or such like common classical Latin authors, and write true Latin in prose, and to be skilled in making Latin verse, or at least in the rules of Prosodia, and to read, construe, and parse ordinary Greek, as in the New Testament, Isocrates, or such like, and decline the paradigms of Greek nouns and verbs,—having withal good testimony of his past blameless behaviour,—shall be look’d upon as qualified for admission into Harvard College.”—EDIT.]

boyish point of view, they were not the less repugnant to the character of a grave instructor on that account.

Those articles were the subject of consideration at several meetings; witnesses were examined under oath; the party accused was heard in his defence; and finally, "after a long debate," it was voted, Feb. 18th, 1742, "that Mr. Nathan Prince be removed from all office relating to the College." It was also "recommended to the Corporation to fill up with some suitable person or persons such vacancies as were made by his removal."

He afterwards claimed and petitioned to the Overseers for an appeal; but it was refused, April 1st, 1742, by a vote of "all the members present, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince excepted," who was his brother.

No injustice, it is believed, was done to Mr. Prince, but the course adopted was irregular, though it seems to have been necessary. His removal, as in the case of Mr. Greenwood, should have been first voted by the Corporation, and then approved by the Overseers. Of this both those bodies were evidently sensible, and accordingly took care to guard against its being drawn into a precedent. Thus in the Records of the Overseers, under date of May 6th, 1742, there is the following entry: "Some votes of the Corporation were now presented to the Overseers for their consent, viz. — 'Whereas the Hon'ble and Rev'd Overseers of Harvard College did upon the 18th of February last past vote the removal of Mr. Nathan Prince, one of the Fellows and Tutors of said College, from all office relating thereto on account of sundry crimes and misdemeanours whereof he was convicted before them and which he had been charged with at said Board by some of the Corporation as well as the Tutors of said Col-

lege ; and also, did then recommend it to the Corporation to fill up the vacancys made by said Mr. Prince's removal ; and, altho' we apprehend that (according to the Constitution of said College) affairs of this Nature ought to originate with the Corporation ; yet, in as much as so many of the Corporation have been either complainants against the said Prince, or have been aspersed and male-treated by him, as that there is not left a majority of said Corporation who may be thought by him or by others, as we understand, to be indifferent judges in this affair ; and in as much as we apprehend that under all circumstances it wil not be for the interest and peace of said College that he should continue any longer in office therein ; *therefore*, saving all right given to the Corporation by their Charter, they passed the following votes," viz.

1. That Mr. Joseph Mayhew be a Fellow of the Corporation in the room of the said Mr. Prince. 2. That Mr. Belcher Hancock be a Tutor of the said College in the room of said Mr. Prince, and that for three years, and be the fourth Tutor in order. 3. That the two foregoing votes be presented to the Hon'ble and Rev'd Overseers at their next meeting for their consent.

"The Overseers now consented to the Corporation's choice of Mr. Joseph Mayhew and Mr. Belcher Hancock as above mentioned."

Mr. Prince then appealed to the General Court. He also published a pamphlet, upon the Constitution and Government of the College, in which he undertakes, among other things, "to prove that the Honorable and Reverend Overseers of Harvard College have no independent power over the Corporation of said College, nor can dismiss a member of said Corpora-

tion solely by themselves; but that the General Court alone have such a sovereign power; and are the Visitors of said College.”¹

But the General Court were either not convinced by his arguments, or thought it not expedient to assert their rights; for the affair was permitted to pass off very quietly; and Mr. Prince obtained no relief.²

Notwithstanding his misconduct, he was too considerable a man, and was too long connected with this institution, to be passed over without some further notice. He took his first degree at this College in 1718, and was not long, if ever, separated from it afterwards till his removal from office; for he was a Tutor nearly nineteen years, and full thirteen years a Fellow of the Corporation. After he left the College he took orders in the Church of England, went to the West Indies, and died July 25th, 1748, at Ratuan in the Bay of Honduras, having been sent as a missionary to the Mosquitos.³

He was a younger brother of our distinguished annalist, Mr. Thomas Prince, and is esteemed by Dr. Chauncy as “the greater man of the two. His learning,” continues the Doctor, “was not, I believe, so extensive, but still very great. He was a greater mathematician and philosopher, and a much better classical scholar and logician. I am ready to think his powers were stronger, especially his reasoning faculty. I was intimately acquainted with him for thirty years. It is a pity he gave occasion for his dismissal from

¹ The pamphlet is entitled — “An Account of the Constitution and Government of Harvard College, from its first formation in the year 1636 to the year 1742.”

² He was the only member of the Corporation, it is believed, who has ever been dismissed.

³ Winthrop's MS. Catalogue.

College. This was his ruin. It turned him out of bread, and finally proved a temptation strong enough to reconcile him to the taking of orders. He had read all the Fathers, and made vast collections from them on almost every subject. I never yet knew the man that had a more deeply rooted aversion to the church than he had before his dismissal from the College. I have heard him a hundred times make himself and company merry with their talk about the prelacy and the Fathers in support of it. There is no knowing what a man may be brought to by the force of temptation. Notwithstanding all this, he deserves a place among the great men in this country.”¹

The extent of this compliment to Mr. Prince cannot be fully understood without adverting to the account which Dr. Chauncy had given of the brother, Thomas Prince, of whom he thus speaks: “I do not know of any one that had more learning among us, excepting Doct. Cotton Mather; and it was extensive, as was also his genius. He possessed all the intellectual powers in a degree far beyond what is common. He may be justly characterized as one of our great men; though he would have been much greater, had he not been apt to give too much credit, especially to surprising stories. He could easily be imposed on this way. Another imperfection that was really hurtful to him was, a strange disposition to regard more, in multitudes of instances, the circumstances of things, and sometimes minute and trifling ones, than the things themselves. I could from my own acquaintance with

¹ Chauncy's Sketch of Eminent Men in New England; in a Letter to Dr. Stiles, May 6, 1768, published in Mass. Hist. Coll. X. p. 165, First Series. [See also a similar character of Mr. Nathan Prince in Eliot's Biogr. Dict., p. 393, note. EDIT.]

him give many instances of this. But, these weaknesses notwithstanding, he deserves to be remembered with honour.”¹

What a lesson on the use and abuse of the gifts of nature is taught by the different fortunes of these two brothers, and the different place in the records of fame which posterity has assigned them !

According to Dr. Eliot, Mr. Nathan Prince was “a candidate for the professor’s chair”; but his juniors, Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Winthrop, were successively preferred to him, and this, notwithstanding his eminence in learning, and the claims which his relation to the College gave him at the time when each of them was appointed. His character, indeed, presented great obstacles to his advancement. Among its most prominent traits were imprudence, eccentricity, violence of temper, and infirmity of moral purpose. There are occasional indications of some of these qualities in his pamphlet, which, however, though far from being always convincing, is a very ingenious and able performance.

¹ Chauncy’s Sketch of Eminent Men in New England, p. 164.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF the prosperous state of the College during President Holyoke's administration there is abundant testimony.

In the year 1738, Mr. James Townsend bequeathed to the College £500 O. T. [old tenor], the income to be paid to the Hollis Professor of Divinity.

The Honorable Thomas Hutchinson, an eminent merchant of Boston, left it, in the year following, a legacy of £300, of which the same Professor was to have the benefit for fifteen years; and then it was "to be disposed of by the Corporation, with the consent of the Overseers." Mr. Hutchinson was a member of his Majesty's Council from 1714 to 1739, the year of his death. He was not a graduate of the College. He is "allowed to merit the pious testimony of his son," Governor Hutchinson, who thus spoke of him: "I wish that many of his posterity may so justly deserve the character of true friends to their country. Regardless of the frowns of a governour, or the threats of the people, he spoke and voted according to his judgment, attaching himself to no party any further than he found their measures tend to the publick interest." ¹

¹ Hutchinson's *Hist. of Mass.*, Vol. II. p. 391, note. Eliot's *Biogr. Dict.*, Art. *Hutchinson*, p. 271.

For the benefit of the Professor of Divinity, also, Daniel Henchman, Esq. presented, in 1742, one hundred ounces of silver, and again in 1747, £250, O. T., the income of both which sums were to be paid to that officer.

This same gentleman, in 1758, made a further donation of £66. 13s. 4*d.*, lawful money, the income to be given to the Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

To both the Professors just mentioned, Lieutenant Governor Dummer "bequeathed the income of £100 sterling, in equal proportions." He also left £50 sterling to be laid out in books for the Library. Governor Dummer was not a graduate of the College. His public life must be familiar to all who are acquainted with the history of Massachusetts. Dummer Academy at Newbury was founded by him. He died at Boston October 10th, 1761, at the age of eighty-two years, having sustained the uniform character of a wise, upright, pious, and benevolent man.

In the year 1740, Col. Goffe manifested his good will to the College by bequeathing to it the sum of £200; but his estate proving insolvent, this legacy was not paid.

For more than a century from its foundation the College was without a Chapel. Religious services, inaugurations, and other public exercises (with the exception of those on Commencement day, when, as now, the Meeting-house was used,) were generally, perhaps always, performed either in the Commons Hall, or in the Library. In the year 1744 this deficiency was supplied by the munificence of Madam Holden and her daughters, of London. They remitted £400 sterling for this purpose, and a small but hand-

some brick building was erected, which is now standing; and which, though as a chapel it has long since been superseded by rooms in other buildings, is still advantageously used for other purposes, being appropriated to the medical and chemical departments. This benefaction is said, and no doubt truly, to have been obtained "through the influence of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., afterwards governor; but it may be considered as one of the fruits of Dr. Colman's visit to England, nearly half a century before. The vessel he sailed in was taken by a French privateer after a smart engagement, during the whole of which he was on the quarter-deck and assisting at the guns. He was treated roughly by the captors, stripped of all his clothes, and carried prisoner to France. At length after a variety of adventures he arrived at London, in a very destitute condition; and was hospitably entertained by Madam Parkhurst, whom "God made a kind and loving mother to him, and a generous friend afterwards to some of his friends from New-England, in their straits."¹ This led to "a most happy correspondence" with her excellent son, the Honorable Samuel Holden, a gentleman who, possessing great wealth, and being distinguished also for his abilities, integrity, diligence, and prudence, was placed at the head of the Bank of England, became a member of Parliament, and was also at the head of the Dissenters in that country. He was not, however, dazzled by the splendors of worldly glory nor absorbed by worldly cares; but, in the midst of prosperity and business, his thoughts were habitually recurring to something higher and better. In one of his letters to

¹ Turell's Life of Colman, p. 18.

Dr. Colman he expressed himself in the following terms : “ Shall *animal nature* thirst after suitable refreshments, and shall not *rational nature* pant after its spiritual perfection? All I have to desire in life, unworthy of any thing at all, is to fill up the remainder in thankfulness to God, usefulness to *man*, and a growing meetness for the *Heavenly world*.”¹ Such was the uniform tenor of his letters ; nor was it empty profession ; for he had “ a heart to use both his estate and his great interest at Court for the doing good in his generation.” The multiplicity of his affairs prevented him from accepting the office of agent for Massachusetts, which was offered him by the General Court ; but, at the instance of Dr. Colman, he rendered eminent services to the Province, and at different times forwarded to that gentleman, books and bills of exchange, amounting to no less than £4847 New-England currency, “ to be distributed by him in works of piety and charity.”²

After his death his excellent widow and daughters honored his memory by following his example. Their remittances for the same benevolent purposes amounted to no less than £5585 New-England currency ; so that Massachusetts received from that family benefactions to the amount of £10,432. Of this sum a small part, indeed, came to Harvard College ; enough, however, to render the name of Holden dear to its friends ; and it should not be forgotten that the whole of it is to be referred, directly or indirectly, to the good offices of a man, whom the College has uncommon reason to hold in grateful remembrance.

¹ Colman's Sermon on the Death of S. Holden, Esq.

² Colman's Sermon. Turell's Life of Colman, p. 116.

The practice of delivering annual discourses on certain important truths or doctrines had long existed in the English Universities; but had not as yet been adopted in Harvard College. It was at length introduced by the Honorable Paul Dudley. This great man died January 25th, 1751;¹ leaving by his will to Harvard College, as a “a poor thank-offering to God from his unworthy servant, for his many and great mercies to him in his education at that College,” the sum of £133 6s. 8d., lawful money, equivalent to £100 sterling, the interest to be applied to the supporting of an annual lecture, to be preached at the College once every year, upon four subjects, specified in his will: first, upon Natural Religion; second, upon Revealed Religion; third, upon the Corruptions of the Church of Rome; fourth, upon the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination.

“These four lectures are to be held alternately every year in succession.”

The person who preaches the last lecture, is “to be a sound, grave, experienced divine, and at least forty years of age”; and the preachers are to “have their stipend or pay given them as soon as may be.”

The Trustees are, the President of the College, the Professor of Divinity, the Pastor of the First Church in Cambridge, the Senior Tutor of the College, and the Pastor of the first Church in Roxbury, each of them for the time being.

The third and fourth of these subjects possessed at that day an interest, which they have not retained; and while “our emancipation from Britain set us free from all the fears formerly entertained” of the estab-

¹ Winthrop's MS. Catalogue.

lishment of Episcopacy upon the ruins of our Congregational system the progress of light and of improvement has long since left nothing to apprehend on the side of Popery.

Agreeably to the will of the founder, as to the person by whom the course should be commenced, President Holyoke delivered the first Dudleian lecture, in the year 1755 ; but withheld it from the press. The venerable John Barnard of Marblehead, at the age of seventy-five years, delivered the lecture next year, on the subject of Revealed Religion. This sermon was published, and is not unworthy of his high character for talents and learning. A lecture has been preached every year since without interruption ; and the list of preachers comprises many of the first divines of Massachusetts. The delivery of the Dudleian Lecture has not been confined to any particular season ; though it has most generally taken place in May, which is the time at present fixed upon for that purpose.

The founder of this lecture was one of the most distinguished alumni of this College. He was the oldest son of Gov. Joseph Dudley ; was born at Roxbury in 1675, and graduated in 1690. He was afterwards a Tutor in the College. Like his father, he spent his life mostly in the public service, for which, like him also, he was eminently qualified. He was thirty-two years a judge of the Superior Court, about six of which he was Chief Justice.¹

On the bench he shone with uncommon lustre, and "gained the general esteem and veneration of the people." "His knowledge was great in most parts of literature ; he was well versed in natural philosophy ;

¹ Winthrop's MS. Catalogue.

an honorable proof of which was his being a member of the Royal Society. He had thoroughly studied divinity ; and in history, both civil and sacred, he had scarce an equal." To all his other accomplishments he added those which are proper to the gentleman and the Christian.¹

Such was the character given of him by that great and good man, the Honorable Stephen Sewall, who was his immediate successor in the office of Chief Justice, —

"Laudatus a laudato viro."

Judge Sewall was himself one of the brightest ornaments of Harvard College. He belonged to an illustrious family. His father was the excellent Stephen Sewall, Esq. of Salem; his mother was a daughter of the famous Mr. Mitchel, minister of Cambridge, and he was nephew to Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, of whom we have already spoken. After taking his bachelor's degree, in 1721, he engaged in a business which has occupied the early years of many of our greatest men, that of instructor. He had charge of a grammar school in Marblehead for some time, afterwards returned to Cambridge and was Tutor from 1728 to 1739. So high was his reputation for talents, learning, and all good qualities, that he was advanced from that situation to a seat on the bench of the Superior Court, where he remained till his death, which took place in 1760, to the extreme regret of his friends and of the public. Among his eulogists were two of the greatest divines of the age, his classmate Dr. Chauncy, and Dr. Mayhew, both of whom place him in the first rank of New England worthies.

¹ The Character of the late Honorable Judge Dudley, first published in the Boston News-Letter, February 7th, 1751 ; ascribed by Eliot to Judge Sewall.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE excitement produced in every part of the country, about this period, by Mr. George Whitefield, extended itself to this retreat of the Muses. It was in the year 1740, that this extraordinary itinerant preacher made his first visit to New England. He says in his Journal, "Wednesday, Sept. 24. Went this morning to see and preach at Cambridge, the chief College for training up the sons of the prophets in all New England. It has one President, four Tutors, upwards of one hundred students: It is scarce as big as one of our least Colleges in Oxford; and, as far as I could gather from some who well knew the state of it, not far superior to our Universities in piety and true godliness. — Tutors neglect to pray with and examine the hearts of their pupils. Discipline is at too low an ebb: Bad books are become fashionable amongst them: — Tillotson and Clark are read instead of Sheppard, Stoddard, and such like Evangelical writers, and therefore I chose to preach from those words, *We are not as many who corrupt the Word of God*: And in the conclusion of my sermon I made a close application to Tutors and Students." ¹

His idea of "*our Universities*," that is, of those of England, may be gathered from his account of them

¹ Whitefield's Journal at New England, p. 55.

in his Journal at Williamsburg, Dec. 15, 1739, "Most of our *English* Schools and Universities," says he, "are sunk into mere Seminaries of Paganism."

This effusion of fanatic spleen against the College, does not seem to have afforded him any relief; his imagination went on teeming, till the 19th of October, when it produced this monstrous figment; "As for the Universities [Harvard and Yale Colleges], I believe it may be said, *Their light is now become darkness, — darkness that may be felt*; and is complained of by the most godly ministers."

In order rightly to appreciate the justice of his remarks, it should be recollected, that the Colleges shared his vituperations in common with the great body of the New England clergy.

After such a picture of the College, we should hardly expect to find in the records of this Society an almost contemporaneous account of its religious state, like the following :

"June 4, 1741. The Committee of the Overseers chosen to make inquiry into the state of the College, &c. make the following report: That having met this day in the Library, and made inquiry into the state of the College, of the President, Fellows, Professors, and Tutors, we find that of late extraordinary and happy impressions of a religious nature have been made on the minds of great numbers of the students, by which means the College is in better order than usual, and the exercises of the Professors and Tutors better attended, &c. Whereupon it is earnestly recommended [by the Overseers] to the President and Tutors, Professors and Instructors, by personal application to the students under such impressions, and by other suitable methods, to encourage and promote this good work."

—“In consideration of the comfortable account we have received of the State of religion in Harvard College by a work of God on the minds of many students there, voted, that there be a meeting of the Overseers next Wednesday at the College, to spend some time in humble thanksgiving to God for the effusion of his holy spirit, and in earnest supplication that the good work so graciously begun may be abundantly carried on, that the Government of said College may be always under the divine direction and influence in all their determinations with regard to the welfare of that society.”¹

If there was ever an occasion, which called upon the friends of a public institution to rouse themselves in its defence, this was most certainly one. A minister of the gospel, endued with the power of swaying the multitude to a greater degree, perhaps, than any other person has ever been, was denouncing this “School of the Prophets” to the world in tones of appalling import; and many religious demagogues were laboring to give effect to his denunciations by exhorting parents to keep their sons from this sink of abomination, or, what in their view was the same thing, Arminianism, which at that day was regarded with the same horror as the sin of Unitarianism is by some at the present. Silence on the part of its members would, under such circumstances, have indicated an indifference to its welfare which would have been truly astonishing. At the same time, as there was no little hazard in encountering the popular idol and the popular frenzy of the day with boldness and spirit, it was advisable at first to adopt the Fabian policy, to pro-

¹ Overseers' Records.

ceed with great caution and deliberation, and to defer a vigorous onset till it was invited by a more propitious juncture.

It should be here observed, that, in common with most others, who were solicitous for the religious improvement of the community, the governors of Harvard College were at first disposed to view Mr. Whitefield in a favorable light ; they gave him a cordial reception at his first coming among them, and noticed with complacency, the impressions which his powerful eloquence produced on the minds of the students ; taking care, however, so far as appears, and as might have been expected from wise and discreet officers, from President Holyoke, Tutor Flynt, Professor Wigglesworth, and others, to check all extravagances, to prevent all disorderly proceedings, and to make whatever new interest was excited for religion an occasion of increased attention to the regular studies and duties of the College. But, though they flattered themselves that society was deriving benefit from the labors of Mr. Whitefield, yet his style of preaching, his conversation, and his various movements were far from meeting with unmingled approbation, even from the beginning. It was during the prevalence of a feeling, on the whole favorable towards him, that President Holyoke, with abundant candor, expressed himself in the following manner, in a Convention sermon :

“ It doubtless becomes me in the public station I hold, to make Examination as to the State of Things in these respects, in the *School of the Prophets* : For that from thence proceed those Streams, which we trust will make glad the City of God ; but if the Fountain be corrupt, the Streams will doubtless be foul and im-

pure. Wherefore I am glad I can from my own Examination of things assure this venerable Audience this day, that that Society hath not deserved the Aspersions, which have of late been made upon it, either as to the *Principles there* prevalent or the Books there read: and tho' such as have given out a disadvantageous Report of us, in these Respects, I doubt not have done it in a godly Jealousy for the Churches of Christ, which are supply'd from us, yet (blessed be God) they are at least mistaken herein: Nor has that Society been in so happy a State as to these Things, from the Time that I first was acquainted with the Principles there, which must be allow'd to be the Space of four or five and thirty years at least, as it is at this Day." ¹

But after the publication of a Journal, containing the most injurious aspersions on the Colleges and Clergy of New England, it was no longer possible to remain unmoved at insults so outrageous, or to keep their eyes shut to the perils which threatened them; more especially when they witnessed the frightful disorders which the labors of intinerant preachers were causing in every part of the land. Among the most respectable part of the community, feelings of a hostile character towards Whitefield were now become very general. Accordingly when he visited this country a second time in the year 1744, he found it bristling with opposition. Clergymen and other persons of great respectability were every where on the alert, to resist his extravagances and to check the ravages of popular delusion. Foremost among them was Dr. Charles Chauncy, who employed his great powers in supporting with extraordinary vigor and zeal the ec-

¹ Preident Holyoke's Convention Sermon, May 28, 1741, p. 33.

clesiastical fabric of New-England, so rudely shaken by the blasts of enthusiasm. But it belongs to this narrative to give a particular account only of the part which was taken in this affair by Harvard College.

Being the fountain, from which, for sixty years, the Churches of *New-England*, and, after the establishment of Yale College, those of Massachusetts and the provinces north of it, received their chief supplies of ministers, Harvard College was looked up to with veneration, as the centre of the ecclesiastical system in this region; and it was undoubtedly expected of this Society that it would come forward at the present crisis, not only with a defence of its own character, thus violently assailed, but with a declaration of its sentiments on the character and conduct of a man, who was making such sad work with the peace and order of the churches. However this may be, on the 28th of December, 1724, they published a pamphlet, entitled “The Testimony of the President, Professors, Tutors and Hebrew Instructor of Harvard College in Cambridge, against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, and his Conduct.” It was signed by all the *resident* Instructors, viz. “Edward Holyoke, President; Henry Flynt, Tut. & Soc.; Edward Wigglesworth, Soc. & S. T. P. Holliss.; Judah Monis, Instr. Hebr.; Belcher Hancock, Tut.; Joseph Mayhew, Tut. & Soc.; Thomas Marsh, Tut.; John Winthrop, Math. & Phil. Nat. Prof. Holliss.” They declared Mr. Whitefield to be “an enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable person, and a deluder of the people,” and condemned him also, “both as an *extempore* and as an itinerant preacher.” Among the instances mentioned of his censoriousness and slander are, say they, “the reproachful reflections upon the Society, which is immediately un-

der our care ; where are observable his rashness and his arrogance," &c.

They conclude their "Testimony" in a manner fitting the dignity of this seat of learning and its important relation to the public. "We wou'd earnestly, and with all due respect, recommend it to the Rev. Pastors of these Churches of Christ, to advise with each other in their several Associations, and consider whether it be not high time to make a stand against the mischiefs, which we have here suggested as coming upon the churches."

To this "Testimony" Mr. Whitefield soon published an answer. He maintains, notwithstanding the President's statement to the contrary in his Convention Sermon as above cited, that the representation he had given of the College in his Journal was correct at the time when it was written ; pretends that, in asserting the *Universities* were in a state of Egyptian darkness, he meant nothing but what was very harmless ; he "had no idea of representing the College in such a deplorable state of immorality and irreligion" as was supposed ; and then, with a certain negligent air, observes ; "However I am sorry I published my private information, though from credible persons, concerning the Colleges to the world." This, with some general expressions of good will to Harvard College, a request of their forgiveness, if he had done them any wrong, a *magnanimous* offer of his own forgiveness for the injury they had done him, and his acknowledgments for "all the tokens of respect," which had been shown him when he was first here, Mr. Whitefield seems to think a sufficient atonement for all the slanders he had vented against this venerable seat of learning.

As to the general charges against him, he undertakes also to show, that they were unfounded, though he admits that he had been sometimes unguarded in his expressions.

Such a defence was by no means satisfactory ; and soon afterwards a Letter in reply was addressed to him by Dr. Wigglesworth, in the name of his colleagues in the immediate government of the College. In this admirable production, the learned Professor of Divinity went over the whole ground with great care and thoroughness ; he clearly pointed out the dangers of enthusiasm ; confuted all his opponent's arguments in a masterly manner ; and, by enlarging upon the several charges against him, gave additional evidence and force to the "Testimony." No analysis of such a work could do it justice ; or could be sufficiently condensed for insertion here ; and what relates particularly to the College, being of considerable length, and at the same time too interesting to be omitted, will be found in the Appendix.

The Professor concludes his letter in the following impressive terms : "And now, Sir, for myself, I can with great sincerity assure you, that it hath been no small grief of heart to me, to deal with you in this public manner : But as these things have been all made public by your own writings, which are read, I suppose, in all parts of the *British Dominions in Europe and America* ; and, as I apprehend, you have been permitted to fall into repeated, deliberate, most public, comprehensive, and pernicious violations of the holy laws of God, I cannot persuade myself that any good could come of *private Conferences* ; but think that you ought to give *Satisfaction* in as *public* a Manner, as you have given *Offence* ; which I earnestly pray God to incline your Heart to do, and am," &c.

To Dr. Wigglesworth's letter was appended one from the President; in which he animadverts upon some remarks of Mr. Whitefield's respecting certain incongruities real or apparent between the "Convention Sermon" and the "Testimony." The President very easily deprives him of any advantage these things seemed to afford him. Upon the passages in the Sermon favorable to him and Mr. Tennent, one of which is quoted above, the President thus expresses himself: "I now assure you, Sir, and all the world, that I am so far from being displeas'd with the mention of them, that I rather rejoice in it, as thereby you have given me a fair Opportunity to correct them: For tho' I have a good while dislik'd them, and therefore (you must needs think) cou'd not be insensible of them when I came into the formention'd Testimony; yet I did not think it worth while, since they are upon the charitable side, to make a formal Business of Retraction; though *I think if they had been upon the other side, I ought to have done it, whether called upon or not.* And inasmuch as you have noted them as standing in direct opposition to several things in the Testimony which I myself have signed, '*I now thank you, Rev. Sir, for pointing out those faults to me,*' if you will allow me to give that term to those errors and mistakes." ¹

He goes on to say, that, when he delivered his Sermon he thought what he uttered was true, but that he had found he was mistaken; and, after making some pertinent remarks and acknowledging that he ought to have taken more time before he delivered his judgment, he feelingly observes — "Alas! how was I deluded by show and appearance! And not only I, but mul-

¹ The Rev. President's Answer to Mr. Whitefield, p. 3.

titudes besides me, who no doubt would be as ready as I am now, had they a proper occasion for it, to say they have been sorrowfully deceived ; and that whatever good was done, hath been prodigiously overbalanced by the evil ; and the furious zeal with which you had so fired the passions of the People, hath in many places burnt up the very vitals of Religion, and a censorious, unpeaceable, uncharitable disposition hath, in multitudes, usurped the place of godly jealousy.”

From the fermentation, produced in the community by the warmth of Whitefield, soon arose a swarm of illiterate, conceited, noisy exhorters, that infested the land, going from place to place inveighing against the ministers and Colleges, and Arminianism and good works. Mr. William Croswell was very conspicuous among them. “He publicly in great assemblies accused the President and Instructors and Governors of both Colleges of Arminianism and as enemies to the work of God, though he knows but little about them. He has advised some persons, as Foster of Plymouth, to take his son from College, and advised Fayerweather and other scholars not to mind what their Tutors said to them, told others that ’t were better to send children aboard a man of war for education than to College. He has raved from Plymouth to Charlestown against the College and its Governors and greatest part of the ministers and some in Boston. These things people love to hear, and follow his preaching from town to town, many being puffed up in themselves and leavened with ill dispositions against the ministers, having both in contempt, even some women saying, they believe that few ministers are converted, limiting the nature of conversion to their own particular way of thinking about it, that is, sudden and temporary turns of dis-

tress and joy." He said also, "he intended to write against the College."¹

Another person by the name of Prentice said "he would make such an attack on the College as it never had yet."

Some "imputed the coldness grown upon scholars to the Tutors' not advising them about spiritual things."

The result of this controversy was no doubt satisfactory to the public and beneficial to the College. What effect Mr. Whitefield's denunciation had to injure the College, by keeping back patronage, by lessening the number of its students, or in any other way, is not known. It was probably much less than it would have been, had not Yale College, then the only one in New England except this, been included in the same proscription. President Holyoke in his letter to Mr. Whitefield, said to him, "You have already (whether you designed it or not) *really injured us* not a little." But from the continued and increasing prosperity of the College, it is evident that the injury received could not have been very considerable, either in magnitude or duration; and it was doubtless owing, under Providence, to the timely exertions of its officers in no small degree, that the mischiefs which threatened it were so happily averted.

¹ Flynt's MS. Diary.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE laws made in 1734 appear to have contained all that was needed for several years. On the 29th of April 1740, "The Committee appointed April 25th, 1738, to enquire into the state of the College, &c., and revived the 6th of September last, have attended that service, and upon enquiry made of the Rev'd. President, Tutors, and Professors, doe find that the exercises required by law are statedly attended, and that the body of laws lately made for the government of the College doe in a good measure answer their end, and prove beneficial to the Society, and that at present there does not appear occasion for any new laws to be made; nor do the Committee apprehend it needful to lay any new proposals before the Board of Overseers. All which is submitted in the name and by the desire of the Committee. April 20, 1740.

S. PHIPPS."

Such was the operation of these laws for some years longer; till, in the natural progress of things, occasions arose for the vigorous application of them, and for such alterations and additions, as resulted at length in another revisal and amendment of the Code. Those occasions were sometimes furnished by "profane cursing and swearing" among the students; "by their frequenting alehouses;" by their "*improving* persons in fetching liquors"; by "the extravagant expenses at taverns and retailing houses, for wine, strong beer, and distilled spir-

its," incurred by some of the undergraduates, and their "taking up such liquors on score, until their accounts amounted to a very enormous sum," a practice, which, from "the too liberal use of such liquors," was supposed to have occasioned most of the disorders in the College.

Sometimes the evils to be remedied were "the breach of the Sabbath, more especially in time of public worship," the remedy for which was "the Tutors sitting in the meeting-house so as more conveniently to oversee the scholars"; "combinations among the undergraduates for the perpetration of unlawful acts"; the "disorders of which they were guilty by being absent from their chambers, contrary to law, at unseasonable times of night"; "the crime of taking cuts out of books" belonging to the public Library; the loose practice of "going and staying out of town without leave"; "the costly habits of many of the scholars, their wearing gold or silver lace, or brocades, silk night-gowns, &c., as tending to discourage persons from giving their children a college education, and as inconsistent with the gravity and decency proper to be observed in this Society;" "the extravagancies of Commencement," and irregularities on that occasion; the "disorders upon the day of the Senior Sophisters meeting to choose the officers of the class," when "it was usual for each scholar to bring a bottle of wine with him, which practice the Committee (that reported upon it) apprehend has a natural tendency to produce disorders"; "riotous disorders frequently committed on the quarter-days and evenings," on one of which in 1764, "the windows of all the Tutors and divers other windows were broken," so that, in consequence, a vote was passed that "the observation of quarter-days, in distinc-

tion from other days, be wholly laid aside, and that the undergraduates be obliged to observe the studying hours and to perform the College exercises on quarter-day, and the day following as at other times." The prominent evil to be combated at one time, notwithstanding there was no theatre yet in Boston, was theatrical exhibitions; and it was voted in 1762, that no student should "be an actor in, a spectator at, or any ways concerned in any stage-plays, interludes, or theatrical entertainments in the town of Cambridge or elsewhere," under the severest penalties. Discipline, however, took an opportunity now and then to relax its brow, as in 1761, when a vote was passed "that it shall be deemed no offence, if the scholars shall in a sober manner entertain one another and strangers with punch (which, as it is now usually made, is no intoxicating liquor), any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." But of indulgences it was not liberal. It could not be, and preserve its character; for the "Sage, called Discipline," though not morose, tyrannical or prying, is by nature, serious, watchful, exact, rigid. Occasionally some striking occurrence called for the interposition of the lawgivers of the College; as in 1755, when "great disorders committed, and even indignities and personal insults offered to some of the Tutors by some of the pupils," produced the appointment of a Committee of the Overseers to make enquiry into them, and drew from that Board a vote of censure upon the Scholars; and as in 1766, when there were "great disorders among the Students tending to subvert all government."

The last mentioned disorders arose principally, if not altogether, from dissatisfaction with the state of the *Commons*, which, from the first establishment of Har-

vard College (when, in imitation of the English Colleges, they were introduced), seem to have been a never-failing source of uneasiness and disturbance.

It was the alleged badness of the Commons, that was, as we have seen, one of the principal causes of complaint against the first master, Eaton. What their effects were during a long interval cannot now be particularly stated; but it is not probable they were materially different from what they have been since.

That there are strong reasons, why the Commons should be supported, it might be fairly inferred from the very fact of their having continued so long, though, on one side or another, so continually assailed. Such, indeed, a little reflection will show to be the truth. The Commons unite the very important advantages of furnishing a salutary diet, and of contracting the expense of a College education by keeping down the price of board. Their beneficial effects are extended beyond the walls of the College. 'To a great degree, the Commons, it is believed, regulate the price and quality' of board even in private families; and thus secure in the town a general style of living, at once economical and favorable to health and to study. But the very circumstance, which is their chief recommendation, is the occasion also of all the odium which they have to encounter; that simplicity, which makes the fare cheap, and wholesome, and philosophical, renders it also unsatisfactory to dainty palates; and the occasional appearance of some unlucky meat, or other food, is a signal for a general outcry against the provisions. To remove, as far as possible, all grounds of complaint, with respect to the price as well as the quality and conditions of the Commons, regulations, during President Holyoke's time, were frequently made in them by

the Corporation and Overseers, who were exceedingly desirous that all the members of the College, officers living within the walls, as well as students, should be in Commons.

An idea of their quality may be formed from the following accounts furnished by Dr. Holyoke and Judge Wingate. According to the former of these gentlemen, who was graduated in 1746, the "breakfast was two sizings of bread and a cue of beer"; and "evening Commons were a pye." The latter, who was graduated thirteen years after, says, "As to the Commons, there were in the morning none while I was in College. At dinner, we had, of rather ordinary quality, a sufficiency of meat of some kind, either baked or boiled; and at supper, we had either a pint of milk and half a biscuit, or a meat pye or some other kind. Such were the Commons in the Hall in my day. They were rather ordinary; but I was young and hearty, and could live comfortably upon them. I had some classmates who paid for their Commons and never entered the Hall while they belonged to the College. We were allowed at dinner a cue of beer, which was a half-pint, and a sizing of bread, which I cannot describe to you. It was quite sufficient for one dinner."¹ A law was made soon after he left, to prevent the practice, here mentioned, of being in Commons, and at the same time living out. In 1764, it was, also, considered "that it would be much for the interest of the Scholars to be prevented breakfasting in the town's people's houses"; and, accordingly, breakfast, which had been omitted for some years, was restored to the Commons, and has probably never since been excluded.

¹ Letter of Judge Wingate, to the author, May 5, 1831.

As the Commons rendered the College independent of private boarding-houses, so the *Buttery* removed all just occasion for resorting to the different marts of luxury, intemperance, and ruin. This was a kind of supplement to the Commons, and offered for sale to the Students, at a moderate advance on the cost, wines, liquors, groceries, stationery, and in general, such articles, as it was proper and necessary for them to have occasionally, and which, for the most part, were not included in the Commons' fare. The Buttery was also an office, where, among other things, records were kept of the times when the scholars were present and absent. At their admission and subsequent returns they entered their names in the Buttery, and took them out whenever they had leave of absence. The Butler, who was a graduate, had various other duties to perform, either by himself or by his *freshman*, as ringing the bell, seeing that the Hall was kept clean, &c. and was allowed a salary, which after 1765, was £60 per annum.

But to return to the Commons; with all the care that could be taken, it was impossible to render the board, which was seven shillings and four pence a week (the price in 1765) as pleasant as the board, for which twenty shillings should have been charged. The discontents, however, for the most part, vented themselves in words, or in such petty sports as judicious officers are, perhaps, little inclined to notice. Sometimes they produced disorders, which required the interposition of the government; and, if the rage excited by the Commons happened to be swelled by supposed grievances from other quarters, it did not always subside without a serious explosion.

Such an event took place, as already mentioned, in the year 1766; and, from the proceedings of the dif-

ferent Boards upon the occasion, must have strongly interested the public. At a meeting of the Overseers, on the 7th of October in that year, "A representation of the President, Professors, and Tutors of the present uncomfortable state of the College was read, together with several votes of the Corporation : upon which the Board came to the following resolutions, viz. It having been represented to this Board by the Board of Corporation, that there have been great disorders among the Students, tending to subvert all government, and a particular relation of the said disorders and of the proceedings of the President, Professors, and Tutors having been laid before this Board, the following resolutions were agreed to, founded upon the facts in the said relations, viz.—

"Resolved — That there has been great neglect in the Steward in the quality of the Butter provided by him for many weeks past ; and that after application to one or more of the Tutors by some of the Students the neglect continued notwithstanding.

"Resolved — That although this afforded just ground of complaint, yet that the act of the Students in leaving the Hall in a body, and showing contempt of the Tutors, was altogether unwarrantable and of most dangerous tendency.

"Resolved — That it appears from the relation aforesaid, that there has been an unlawful combination of a great number of the Students to force an execution of the laws of the College in such manner as they think proper, particularly, with respect to excuses for absence from prayers, and that there has been an agreement that, unless such excuses shall be accepted, that the Students would leave the Hall in a body.

“Resolved — That the said combination and agreement had no pretence of grievance to justify it ; that this, together with other matters at the same time agreed to, has a direct tendency to destroy all subordination in the College.

“Resolved — That the President, Professors, and Tutors, in their examination and proceedings upon these affairs, have acted with great tenderness and moderation.

“Resolved — That this Board will by every way and mean in their power support and encourage the immediate Governors of the College in preventing all such unlawful combinations, and in carrying into execution the laws of the College made for that purpose ; it being the opinion of this Board, that if, in consequence of the punishment of such combinations, many persons who are now Students, should finally leave the College, it will be by far less mischievous to posterity and the future well-being of the College, than to suffer such offences to pass with impunity.

“Voted — That the Overseers will be present with the Scholars in the Chapel, and that His Excellency the Governor be desired to read the foregoing resolutions to the Scholars, and enforce them in such manner as he shall think proper.”

At an adjournment of this meeting, Oct. 10th, 1766, it was voted unanimously that a “paper offered as a confession by certain of the Students calling themselves a Committee from the rest, cannot consistently with the maintenance and support of government in the College be accepted by the President, Professors, and Tutors, as a satisfaction for the late disorderly proceedings.” That, “the Board recommend to the President, Professors, and Tutors, to accept of a full confession from

such of the Students as have been concerned in the late disorders, as satisfaction for their offences."

That "upon neglect or refusal in the students to make confession of their late offences to the satisfaction of the President, Professors, and Tutors, the Board recommend to them to proceed to a vigorous execution of the laws of the College against such and so many of the persons concerned in the late disorders, as they, the said President, Professors, and Tutors shall judge necessary, to restore and preserve government and order." They then passed a vote, which has more of the air of original legislation than would seem to belong to a body, whose province it is merely to recommend and to ratify. It was, "that if any scholar shall have any censure passed upon him, less in degree than rustication or expulsion, and shall thereupon without leave regularly obtained absent himself from College; or if any scholar, from resentment at any censure or punishment whatsoever of any of his fellow scholars, shall absent himself, without leave as aforesaid, from College; in every such case, such scholar so absenting shall be deemed to have renounced his relation to the College, and shall not be again admitted or received without the express vote of the President, Professors, and Tutors upon application made for that purpose — Provided that, if upon application the consent of the President, Professors, and Tutors shall be denied, an application may lie to the Corporation and from the Corporation to the Board of Overseers."

These proceedings appear to have had the desired effect; for on the 6th of May next year the Committee appointed to visit the College reported, that they "had attended that service and found that the scholars attended their stated exercises and that there were no

remarkable disorders among them ; but that the Committee, upon enquiry, found that the Tutors had for a considerable time neglected to visit the Chambers as they were by law required, and therefore proposed that it be enjoined on them by this Board to execute the law already made and provided.”

“The Committee further propose, that a law be made, forbidding those who are candidates for a degree and who have chambers in College to make their entertainments at Commencement out of the College.”

“Voted, that this report be accepted ; and accordingly the Board passed the following vote respecting the first proposal in this report, viz.—

“The visitation of the Chambers occupied by the Students, as enjoined by law, having been of late much neglected, the Overseers require that it be strictly and steadily obeyed in all future time, and that they [the Tutors] be informed that the semi-annual Committees will enquire whether this law is observed according to order.”

“With respect to the second proposal in the report of the Committee,—voted, that it be recommended to the Corporation to prepare a law agreeable to it.”

Again ; at a meeting of the Overseers, on the 6th of October following, the visiting Committee reported “that, upon enquiry made of the Rev. President and the other gentlemen concerned in the tuition and more immediate government of the College, nothing was by them suggested or has otherwise appeared to the Committee, as requiring the interposition of this Hon. and Rev. Board, or otherwise specially needful at present to be done for the well-ordering of that Society.”

Before the Board rose, “the Tutors and Librarian being called in, His Excellency enquired whether they

had practised visiting the Chambers of the Students according to law and the express injunction of this Board ; and it was further enjoined upon them strictly and steadily to practise such visitation, it being in the opinion of the Board a matter of great importance, and which tended much to the good order of this society.”

This favorable state of things did not long continue ; for at a meeting of the Overseers in the Philosophy Room, April 8th, 1768, it appears by a vote of the Corporation April, 4th, 1764 (doubtless by mistake for 1768), that a combination had been entered into by a great number of the Students against the government ; that, in consequence, great excesses had been perpetrated ; that on one Saturday night brick-bats were thrown into the windows of Mr. Willard the Tutor's room, endangering the lives of three of the Tutors there assembled, and that for this audacious act four Students, who were discovered to have committed it, were expelled.

This sentence of expulsion being duly confirmed, “the following resolves were unanimously voted by the Board.

“That it too manifestly appears, that a spirit of opposition to Government has prevailed among the greatest part of the Undergraduates for a short time past :

“That there is too great a disposition in the said Undergraduates, for insufficient reason, to absent themselves from prayers and from the ordinary exercises with the Professors and Tutors :

“That the measures which have been taken by the Tutors to oblige the said Undergraduates to a proper application to their studies, and to a regular attendance upon the exercises of the College were wise and proper, and have without grounds been complained of as illegal and oppressive :

“That, from an unjust resentment and false prejudices against the Governors of the College for the due execution of the laws, great affronts and insults have been offered by most of the Undergraduates, and unwarrantable assemblies have been held and unlawful combinations entered into and executed, repugnant to the fundamental principles of government :

“That the expulsion of some of the immediate and principal actors in these disorders was a just punishment of their offences, and necessary for the preservation of the authority of the College :

“That this Board will support and encourage those in the immediate government of the College in their endeavours to restore and maintain a due subordination in the Society :

“That the President be desired to read these resolves in the College chapel, at such time as he shall think proper.”

In the mean time the laws of the College underwent a general revision. A committee had been chosen by the Overseers for this purpose as early as Oct. 6th, 1747 ; it was afterwards the subject of consideration from time to time ; but the business does not seem to have been completed till the year 1767 (1766). The following vote of the Corporation was consented to May 6th, 1767, by the Overseers. “The Scholars being at present unprovided with copies of the College Laws, — Voted, that each of the Tutors shall read the Laws to their respective classes as soon as may be, and that such reading shall be deemed a sufficient promulgation of the Laws ; and that an authentic copy of all the Laws be likewise kept in the Buttery, for the inspection of all the Scholars. ”

The next things to be considered were, whether the Laws should be printed, and whether they should be translated into Latin.

The first question “was largely debated,” at a meeting of the Overseers, Oct. 6th, 1767; and it was voted to be “the opinion of the Board,” that neither “the Body of Statutes” should be printed, nor “a select part of the Laws for the use of the Students”; but it was “the opinion of the Board that the College Laws be translated in Latin.”¹

The various acts already mentioned were of course embodied in this revised code.

Among the alterations, one of the most remarkable related to the penal laws. At the period when Harvard College was founded, one of the modes of punishment in the great schools of England and other parts of Europe was corporal chastisement. It was accordingly introduced here, and was no doubt frequently put in practice. An instance of its infliction, as part of the sentence upon an offender, is presented in Judge Sewall’s MS. diary, with the particulars of a ceremonial, which was reserved probably for special occasions. His account will afford some idea of the manners and spirit of the age: “June 15, 1674, Thomas Sargeant was examined by the Corporation finally. The advice of Mr. Danforth, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Thacher, Mr. Mather (the present) was taken. This was his sentence:

“That being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the H. G., he should be therefore publickly whipped before all the scholars.

“2. That he should be suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelor. (This sentence read before him twice at the President’s before the Committee and in the Library, before execution.)

¹ Was this done?

“3. Sit alone by himself in the Hall uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the President and Fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise was appointed him by the President, or else be finally expelled the College. The first was presently put in execution in the Library (Mr. Danforth Jr. being present) before the Scholars. He kneeled down, and the instrument, Goodman Hely, attended the President’s word as to the performance of his part in the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President. July 1, 1674.”

What an exhibition! Men’s ideas must have been very different from those of the present day, to have tolerated a law authorizing so degrading a treatment of the members of such a society. It may easily be imagined what complaints and uneasiness its execution must frequently have occasioned among the friends and connexions of those who were the subjects of it. In one instance it even occasioned the prosecution of a Tutor; but this was as late as the year 1733, when old rudeness had lost much of the people’s reverence. The law, however, was suffered, with some modification, to continue more than a century. In the revised body of Laws made in the year 1734, we find this article: “Notwithstanding the preceding pecuniary mulcts, it shall be lawful for the President, Tutors, and Professors, to punish Undergraduates by Boxing, when they shall judge the nature or circumstances of the offence call for it.” This relic of barbarism, however, was growing more and more repugnant to the general taste and sentiment. The late venerable Dr. Holyoke, who was of the class of 1746, observed, that in his day, “corporal punishment was going out of use”; and at length, it was expunged from the code, never, we trust, to be recalled from the rubbish of past absurdities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Two new modes of aiding the College funds were introduced by the General Court during this presidency. One of them was such, as we may believe, would not have been adopted by the worthies of that day, had experience of its evils taught them to regard it in the same light that it has since been. This was, by an appeal, not to the charity of men, but to their passions for gain. In June, 1765, the General Court passed "an Act, for raising by Lottery, the sum of three thousand two hundred pounds, for building another Hall for the Students of Harvard College to dwell in"; and it was the first act of the kind passed for the benefit of this institution. In the Preamble to this Act it is stated "that the buildings belonging to Harvard College are greatly insufficient for lodging the Students of the said College, and will become much more so when Stoughton-Hall shall be pulled down, as by its present ruinous state it appears it soon must be. And whereas there is no Fund for erecting such Buildings, and considering the great Expence which the General Court has lately been at in building Hollis-Hall, and also in rebuilding Harvard-College, it cannot be expected that any further provision for the College should be made out of the Public Treasury; so that no other resort is left but to private Benefactions, which it is conceived, will be best excited by means of a Lottery."

The other mode of aiding the funds of the College was of a different character. It was by giving it an interest in grants, which were made, of townships of land in the Province (now State) of Maine. Care had been taken in former grants of this kind to provide for the future support of religion and education in the respective townships. To the shares which were reserved for these important objects, the General Court thought proper at length to add a share for the benefit of Harvard College. The first instance of this was in the year 1762; from that time till about the time of President Holyoke's decease, there appear to have been as many as twenty-six townships, in different parts of Maine, from six to seven and a half miles square, granted, with a reservation in each of a share for Harvard College. The share was one sixty-fourth part in these several townships, except one, and in that it was but an eighty-third part.

By the establishment of the two Professorships, of Divinity and of Mathematics, the College had made considerable advances towards the rank of a University, or school which furnishes instruction in the whole circle of the liberal arts and sciences. It was enabled to make a further advance of the same kind, by the munificence of the Honorable Thomas Hancock, of Boston. This gentleman was the second son of the Rev. John Hancock, of Lexington, a clergyman of great respectability, and of such weight and influence among his brethren, that he was styled *Bishop*.¹ Thomas was born July 3d, 1703. He "served his time with Col. Henchman, a stationer, in Boston; but, having a turn for more extensive business, became one of the principal merchants in New England;"² and was distin-

¹ Eliot's Biogr. Dict. p. 238, note.

² Ibid.

guished for his activity, probity, benevolence, hospitality, and public spirit. He was many years a member of his Majesty's Council; and was a most useful member of society. Though not an alumnus, he was a warm friend of Harvard College; his bounty to it during his lifetime has been already noticed. His sudden death, which took place August 1st, 1764, by preventing him from executing his liberal intention towards the Library, furnished his nephew and heir with an opportunity of exhibiting the noble instance of generosity toward the Library already mentioned. Honorable as this act was in itself, its merit was enhanced by the fact that legacies to the amount of more than £2300 sterling were to be paid from the estate, by his uncle's will. Of these legacies one of a thousand pounds sterling was given to the "President and Fellows of Harvard College, the whole income to be applied to the support and maintenance of some person, who shall be elected by the President and Fellows, with the approbation and consent of the Overseers, to profess and teach the Oriental languages, especially the Hebrew, in said College." At a meeting of the Corporation, Sept. 19th, 1764, it was voted, on thankfully accepting this generous bequest, "that there be constituted a Professorship of the said languages in Harvard College," and "that the Professor upon Mr. Hancock's foundation be known by the stile and title of the *Hancock Professor of the Hebrew and other Oriental Languages.*"¹ These votes were consented to by the Overseers; and thus arose "the first Professorship founded in New England, or in America, by one of its sons." A full length portrait of this generous benefactor, painted by Copley, now decorates one of the rooms of the public Library.

¹ College Records.

In a seminary, which, from the beginning, had for its primary object the cultivation of sacred literature, it might be taken for granted, that the original languages of the Bible would have always formed a part of the regular course of instruction. Such was indeed the fact; and not only the Greek and Hebrew, but the Chaldaic and Syriac were taught, from the first, by able Oriental scholars.¹ But there appears to have been no person, whose sole or appropriate business was to teach either of those languages, or any one branch of learning, before the year 1720; about which time a favorable opportunity presented itself for commencing a division of labor, in this respect, with the Hebrew.

Mr. Judah Monis, a Jewish Rabbi, who was born in Italy, or in one of the Barbary States, came to America at an early period of life, and about the year 1720 began to instruct in Hebrew. In the year 1722 he became a convert to Christianity, and was baptized at Cambridge.² It was voted by the Corporation, April 30th, 1722, "that Mr. Judah Monis be *improved* as an instructor of the Hebrew language in the College," and that his salary for one year should be £70. All the undergraduates, excepting the Freshmen and such others as should be exempted by the President and Tutors, were required to attend his instructions on four days in the week. He was rechosen the next year with a salary of £80; and at the same time, "the Corporation, having had

¹ New-England's First Fruits. See Appendix, No. I.

² [On that occasion, March 27th, 1722, a Discourse was delivered in the College Hall, by the Rev. Dr. Colman; which was published in a volume with three Discourses by Mr. Monis himself, entitled respectively, *The Truth, The Whole Truth, and Nothing but the Truth.* 12 mo. Boston, 1722. EDIT.]

experience of great benefit to the College from the service of the Hebrew instructor, Mr. Judah Monis, the last year, voted, that such an office be continued in the Colledge, so long as a suitable person for that service can be found, and a suitable support for him.”¹ His election was renewed the year following; and it was then voted, “that the Tutors of the several classes be obliged to instruct their respective pupils (except such as are entered with the said Mr. Monis) in the Hebrew language, as heretofore”; and “that Mr. Monis be obliged to instruct such of the graduates at the College in the Hebrew language, as shall attend him, at such times as the Corporation shall appoint.”

He seems afterwards to have become a permanent instructor. In the year 1735, he published a Hebrew Grammar, for the use of the College, and was paid by the Corporation £35 for this service.² “He made use of the vowel points in this grammar, and insisted that they were essential to the right pronunciation of the language.” “He was considered as well educated in Rabbinical learning, and in that knowledge which was requisite for an instructor in Hebrew.”³ There must, however, from some cause or other, have been a great decline in the cultivation of Hebrew; for when Judge Wingate was at College (1755 – 59) Mr. Monis “attended to the instruction of the scholars *one afternoon in the week*; but none were compelled to attend who did not choose to learn Hebrew, and but a small portion of the scholars paid any attention to his instruction.”

On the death of his wife, in 1761, he resigned his office, which he had held about 40 years, and retired to

¹ Overseers' Records.

² Ibid.

³ MS. Letter of the Hon. Judge Wingate, Dec. 2d, 1830.

Northborough in the county of Worcester. He spent the residue of his days in the family of the Rev. John Martyn, whose wife and Mrs. Monis were sisters. He died April 25th, 1764, in the 82d year of his age, leaving some legacies to pious and charitable objects, and {the remainder of his estate, which was considerable, to the family of Mr. Martyn.¹

The place of Hebrew Instructor did not long remain vacant, after the retirement of Mr. Monis. It was voted by the Corporation, Sept. 7th, 1761, "that *Sir Sewall* be the Hebrew Instructor in Harvard College this year." He was rechosen the next year; and, in consequence of a recommendation of the Overseers, that, instead of increasing the number of Tutors, which the state of the funds would not admit of doing, additional duties should be assigned to the Hebrew Instructor, the Corporation voted, Sept. 5th, 1763, "that *Sir Sewall*, B. A., be the Instructor in the Hebrew and other learned languages for three years, and that he attend the service assigned him by the Corporation, for which he shall be allowed annually the sum of four-score pounds."

On the establishment of a Hebrew Professorship, as before related, his qualifications for the office were so preëminent, that he was probably the only one who was thought of to fill it; and it was voted by the Corporation, Oct. 2d, 1764, "that *Stephen Sewall*, M. A., be the Hancock Professor of the Hebrew and other Oriental Languages in Harvard College, and that for the present he go on in the method he is now in, as to the instruction of the Pupils." Statutes for the regulation of the Professorship were soon afterwards prepared, in conformity with the will of the founder, who had im-

¹ Whitney's Hist. of Worcester, pp. 272, 273.

posed little more restriction on the powers of the Corporation and Overseers, than to require that the Professor should be a Protestant. According to these Statutes, the Professor was to be a Master of Arts, was "to instruct the Students in the Oriental languages, especially in the Hebrew and Chaldee," was to read public lectures in term time, in the Chapel, once a week, on topics relating to those languages, and to give private lectures at such times as the Corporation and Overseers should appoint; was to instruct in a more private way, two or three hours in a week, such of his pupils as should desire it, in the Samaritan, the Syriac, and the Arabic; was to follow no employment that would interfere with the duties of his place; was removable from his office at the discretion of the Corporation and Overseers, but never without some very good and sufficient reason; was to declare himself, at his inauguration to be of the Protestant reformed religion and was to promise, at the same time, to discharge his trust with diligence and fidelity, to labor for the advancement of true learning, to consult the good of the College in every other respect, and to "promote true piety and godliness by his own example and encouragement." It was also provided that these Statutes should "be subject to such alterations and additions from time to time, consistent with the will of the Founder, as the Corporation, with the consent of the Overseers should see cause to make." ¹

Mr. Sewall was publicly introduced into his office June 19th, 1765. The installation took place in the Meeting-house, "in the presence of the Hon'ble. and Rev'd. Overseers, the Rev'd. Corporation, the Hon'ble.

¹ See the Statutes of this Professorship in the Appendix.

House of Representatives, who were invited on this occasion, a number of Rev'd. Ministers, and other respectable gentlemen." After the solemnities, "the President publicly invited the gentlemen present to dine in the College Hall."

The origin of another Professorship may be traced to a period somewhat anterior to the date of the Hancock foundation. Its actual establishment, however, did not take place till many years afterwards; and therefore it will only be stated here, that "the Hon. John Alford of Charlestown, Massachusetts, a gentleman of considerable estate, and highly respected in his public, and private character," who died in the year 1761, "bequeathed a large sum to pious and charitable uses, at the discretion of his executors, Edmund Trowbridge, Esq. and Richard Cary, Esq.;" that they appropriated a large sum to Harvard College, and that this was, at length, the foundation of the Alford Professorship.

In addition to an enlargement of its dimensions, a new impulse towards a general improvement seems to have been communicated to the College by the spirit of the age. The middle of the eighteenth century was a period of uncommon mental activity and brilliance. It was distinguished for its orators, its philosophers, its writers. Many of the most admired and eloquent productions of modern times had their birth at that epoch. The human mind was then awakened; and, whatever reverence might still be retained for the beneficial maxims and usages of antiquity, its rust was regarded with little favor. Seminaries of education naturally and necessarily partook of the general progress of society. The steps taken by Harvard College in this march of improvement, may in many instances be distinctly

traced, and, to one who is not contented with mere general results, can hardly fail to be interesting, even when they may, in themselves, appear unimportant and trivial.

The records of the College abound in evidences of solicitude and exertion, on the part of those, who had the direction of its concerns, to raise the standard of education, and at the same time to give it a more elegant and popular cast. In choosing their semi-annual "Committee to enquire into the state of the College," it was usual for the Overseers to make it a part of the vote that the Committee "consider what may be beneficial to it." They also frequently chose special Committees for particular purposes, and recommended such improvements of various kinds as appear to have been most needed.

In the early part of this presidency, and probably for many years before, the text-books were the following: Latin and Greek Classics, — Virgil, Cicero's Orations, Cicero's Offices, and a little of Homer; the Greek Testament; Ward's Mathematics, Gordon's Geographical Grammar, Gravesande's Philosophy, Euclid's Geometry; Wollebius's Compend of Theology, and Brattle's Compend of Logic, both in Latin; Watts's Logic, and Locke on the Human Understanding. They were all works of authority at that period. If to these we add the exercise of reading Greek into Latin, "which would apply to the New Testament and that only," Mr. Monis' Hebrew instructions, the lectures of the Professors of Divinity and Mathematics, and the President's expositions of the Scriptures, at evening prayers twice a week, and disputations of the Juniors and Seniors, we shall have about the whole that was embraced by the collegiate course at that period. That there was suf-

ficient room for addition is very apparent ; and it would seem, that the qualifications requisite for admission into the College could not have been very high, or a part of the above list, as Virgil and Cicero's Orations, would have been excluded, and other authors have been substituted in their places. ¹

At the meetings of the Overseers from the year 1755 to the year 1761, both inclusive, various motions were made, which had for their object the promotion of classical learning. At length, Oct. 6th, 1761, a Committee reported that they "find upon enquiry that the Students are not required to translate English into Latin nor Latin into English, neither in verse nor prose. The Committee are of opinion, that if some or all of those exercises according to the different geniuses of the Students were introduced, and some part of the present exercises laid aside, as shall be judged most convenient, an acquaintance with and skill in both languages would be obtained in a more easy and expeditious way than by the present method of instruction ;

[¹ The following particulars of an *Examination* for admission at this period, taken from a MS. Diary of the late venerable Dr. Holyoke, who entered College in the year 1742, will show more distinctly the actual requisitions for admission, and will be interesting to the sons of Harvard :

"An account of our examination the 13th day of July, 1742, viz. Foxcroft, Green, myself, and Putnam. Tutors, 3d *Æneid*, 15 lines, Presi'dt, 2d *Æneid*, 24 lines, Virgil.—Tutors, 3d *Catiline*, Presid't, 2d *Catiline*, Tully.—Tutors, 12th *Luke*, Presid't, 25th *Matthew*, Greek Testament.—Memo. Mr. Flynt examin'd us in Tully ; Mr. Hancock, in Virgil ; Mr. Mayhew, in Greek Test. ; Mr. Marsh, in no book, in the forenoon. In the afternoon examin'd by the Presid't, who gave us the following Themes : Foxcroft, *Sapientia præstat viribus* ; Green, myself, *Labor improbus omnia vincit* ; Putnam, *Semper avarus eget*. I finish'd my Theme the 19th day of July, 1742, and was admitted the () of y^e August following (after having been on writing my College Laws 20 days, finished them the 10 of August.) And we began to recite on the Monday morning after the vacancy was up, which was the 23d day of August, in the year 1742." — EDIT.]

and, in order to excite an emulation, the Committee think it would be convenient, that specimens of such translations and other performances in classical and polite Literature should be from time to time laid before the Board of Overseers."

"The Committee are further of opinion, that more classical authors should be introduced and made part of the exercises, and that Horace should be earlier entered upon than has of late been practised."

It was voted "that it be recommended to the President and Tutors to act in conformity to the report of the Committee relative to the scholars' classical exercises."

May 4th, 1762, "the Board find that the Tutors have not conformed to the vote passed the last meeting relating to translations and the introducing more classical authors; and thereupon, voted, that it be recommended to the President and Tutors to conform to said vote as soon as may be."

October 14th, 1762. "Voted, that each Tutor be directed to lay before the Committee that shall be appointed to visit the College, in the spring, an account of the books in which the respective classes recite, and that the said Committee be directed to enquire what has been done in conformity to the report of October 6th, 1761, relating to translations and the introduction of classical authors, and make a particular report at the next meeting."

May 9th, 1763. "The Committee appointed to 'enquire into the state of the College and to consider of such things as may be beneficial to it,' made their report, in which they say, that they 'enquired what books the several classes recite or are instructed in, and have received a list from the Tutors, which is

herewith presented ; it appears that Horace is more in use than it has been, and that Cæsar's Commentaries hath been lately introduced, and that the several classes are held to translating English into Latin once every fortnight."

Provision was also made, during the same period, for an improved study of Divinity and Moral Philosophy. The Overseers passed votes at different meetings upon the subject. At a meeting, April 24th, 1759, a Committee having reported that "no system of Divinity or Ethicks is taught in the College," it was voted "that it be recommended to the Corporation speedily to introduce some system of Divinity or Ethicks." This vote was repeated in October, and on the 6th of May, 1760, "the President read several votes of the Corporation, whereby it appeared that suitable care was taken of that matter."

As if from a presentiment of the demand which the lapse of a few years would create for eloquence in the British Provinces, there was nothing which the Overseers appear to have been more intent on encouraging among the students, at this time, than those developments and attainments, which have a more immediate reference to that accomplishment. In the years 1754 and 1755, votes were passed at different meetings for the promotion of Oratory ; and, in consequence of their recommendation, measures for that purpose were adopted by the Corporation. The strong interest taken in the subject is evident from the following account. "At an Overseer's meeting at the College, April 27th, 1756 ; 1. John Vassal, Jonathan Allen, Tristram Gilman, Thomas Tappan, Edward Walker, Samuel Barret, presented themselves before the Board and pronounced in the respective characters assigned them a dia-

logue in the English tongue translated from Castalio and then withdrew. 'The Board unanimously expressed their acceptance and approbation, and it was thereupon voted that the several students aforesaid be sent for and they be acquainted, that the Board are well pleased with their performance, and desire them to proceed as they have begun, that they may not only render themselves ornaments to the College and an honor to their country, but may also excite an emulation in others to excel in eloquence and oratorical attainment and in the like manner to merit the approbation of this Board.'

"2. Voted, that the rhetorical and oratorical exercises that have been this last half-year in the College Chapel performed by the scholars, be still continued."

"3. It was voted, that the President be desired to read the aforesaid votes in the Chapel, in presence of the students, the next convenient opportunity."¹

It would seem, however, that something further was necessary to be done, before the views of the enlightened men of that day could be realized. These views were more fully unfolded in the following report made to the Board of Overseers, May 4th, 1762: "The Committee, appointed to enquire into the state of the College and to consider of such things as may be beneficial to it, attended that service at the College on Wednesday, the 28th of April, and beg leave to report, that there were no complaints of disorders among the scholars; the Committee have, therefore, nothing to suggest on that head, except it should be judged necessary to make a law to require the scholars' attendance upon public worship on the anniversary days of Thanksgiving and Fasting, and other days set

¹ Overseers' Records.

apart by the Government for religious services, in a more explicit manner, than at present it seems to be required."

"The Committee heard the several classes recite in the books they usually recite in before the Tutors. The exercises were laudably performed, and gave the Committee as much satisfaction as they could expect from performances in that manner: the Committee, however, cannot but observe that these exercises do not afford sufficient scope for a display of genius, nor do they seem enough calculated to raise in the scholars an emulation to excel. The Committee would, therefore, propose, whether it would not be sufficient to exhibit a few specimens of this kind at these visitations, and to prompt the scholars to exhibit any thing of genius or spirit agreeable to their own turn of mind. Some of them might, in this case, be put upon declaiming, which is an usual exercise at College, and might tend to form them to a graceful elocution, if performed before the Committees for visitations, with a special view to their own credit in excelling. Some exercises, carried on in parts between two or more, might have the same good effect. As, for instance, one might offer a thesis and say what he thought proper in defence of it; another might reply, and this exercise might conclude with a rejoinder; — and they might be performed either in English or in one of the learned languages, agreeable to the nature of the subject, or the talents or inclination of the performers. These, or any such like exercises, which the President and Tutors should approve, exhibited from time to time before the Committees, we humbly apprehend, would greatly tend

to the improvement of the scholars and the credit and reputation of the society.

“In the name and by order of the Committee.

“May 3d, 1762.”

“AND. OLIVER.”

“Voted, that this report be accepted, and that it be recommended to the President and Tutors to conform to the proposal made in the latter part of it.”¹

This recommendation was duly attended to; and the experiments, which were made, proved so satisfactory, that, on the 23d of June, 1766, the Corporation voted, “that twice in the year, viz. at the semi-annual visitation of the Committee of the Overseers, some of the scholars, at the direction of the President and Tutors, shall publicly exhibit specimens of their proficiency, by pronouncing orations and delivering dialogues, either in English or in one of the learned languages, or having a forensic disputation, or such other exercise as the President and Tutors shall direct.”

This was consented to by the Overseers; as was also another vote of the Corporation, passed the same year, that the law against theatrical entertainments should “not prevent any *exhibitions* of this kind from being performed as academical exercises under the direction of the President and Tutors.” Such was the origin of those interesting displays, in the College Chapel, of youthful genius, learning, and eloquence, which are called *exhibitions*, and which, as appears from Mr. Oliver’s report, may be mentioned among the good fruits of another practice introduced a short time before—that of public *examinations*.

It was voted by the Corporation, May 6th, 1760, “that twice in a year, viz. in Spring and Fall, each class shall recite to their Tutor, in the presence of the President,

Professors, and Tutors, in the several books in which they are reciting to their respective Tutors, and that, publicly in the College Hall or in the Chapel; and that the two Senior classes do once every half-year, in the same presence, but under the direction of the mathematical Professor, give a specimen of their progress in philosophical and mathematical learning." The appointment of such exercises having been made a year or two before, it had been ordered by the Overseers "that one of these publick exercises be performed on the respective days, when the Committee of the Overseers semi-annually meet to enquire into the state of the College, and that said Committee be directed to be present and attend the same." ¹

The extension of the various aids and incitements to improvement was greatly facilitated by an important change which took place in the distribution of the services of the Instructors. At the foundation of the College, the number of students and teachers being small, there was of course little of that division of labor, which consists in assigning particular branches and duties to particular officers. The same causes, which existed then, operated, though with a gradually diminishing force, to prevent any alteration in this respect, for more than sixty years; and after that, the practice for each tutor to teach all the branches to the class which was assigned to him, and which attended no other tutor while he held his office, continued, when there was nothing but the authority of long usage to maintain it. Its unfavorable operation became at length so apparent, that the subject was brought before the Overseers, who, May 7th, 1765, appointed a Committee

¹ [Mr. Peirce has made the following note here, in his MS. "Were these examinations at first, and for any length of time, connected with the exhibitions?"—EDIT.]

consisting of the Lieut. Governor, the President of the College, and other respectable gentlemen, “to consider of a more proper distribution of the work or service of the Tutors.” The Committee were “desired to consult his Excellency the Governor and take his advice.” Their report was made, May 6th, 1766, and was as follows :

“To the Honorable and Reverend the Board of Overseers of Harvard College.

“The Committee appointed the first Tuesday in May last to consider of a more proper distribution of the work or service of the Tutors, have had several meetings for that purpose and have projected a plan, which is hereunto annexed, and which in the opinion of the Committee will, when carried into execution, be attended with many advantages to the Society ; but, as it will cause a great change in the long established manner of proceeding, the Committee did not think it proper to report that it should be immediately entered upon, but submit to the Honorable and Reverend Board the determination, whether the present or some future time may be most convenient, and whether any preparatory measures are necessary or not.

In the name and by order of the Committee.

THO. HUTCHINSON.”

“For the advancement of learning it is proposed, That one Tutor shall teach Latin ; another, Greek ; another, Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics ; and the other Natural Philosophy, Geography, Astronomy, and the Elements of the Mathematicks.

“That all the scholars shall attend the Tutors on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, three times a day ; and once a day on Fridays and Saturdays, during their four years residence at College in term time, excepting Commencement week ; and

that the Senior Sophisters shall not be obliged to attend any of the exercises after the last day of June.

“That the Senior Sophisters shall attend the Tutor *A* on Mondays, *B* on Tuesdays, *C* on Wednesdays, *D* on Thursdays.

“That the Junior Sophisters shall attend *B* on Mondays, *C* on Tuesdays, *D* on Wednesdays, *A* on Thursdays.

“That the Sophomores shall attend *C* on Mondays, *D* on Tuesdays, *A* on Wednesdays, *B* on Thursdays.

“That the Freshmen shall attend *D* on Mondays, *A* on Tuesdays, *B* on Wednesdays, *C* on Thursdays.

“That on Friday and Saturday mornings each class shall be instructed by a distinct Tutor in Elocution, Composition in English, Rhetoric, and other parts of the Belles Lettres.

“That the Divinity Professor shall instruct all the scholars in Divinity.

“That to prevent the great inconveniences attending some of the scholars going home at one time, and some at another, in the Spring and Fall, to procure clothing, &c., as they heretofore have been permitted to do, it is proposed, that there shall be a short vacation in the Spring and Fall, and that in term-Time no scholar shall go out of Cambridge, unless upon some very special occasion; and that liberty be granted therefor at a meeting of the President, Professors, and Tutors, by the major part of them. By these regulations the scholars will not be absent from College more in the course of the year, than they are according to the present practice, and yet they will be at less expense for diet.

“That public gifts shall be prohibited, and in lieu thereof, each scholar shall pay one shilling and nine

pence lawful money quarterly, in addition to the tuition-money ; and the Tutors shall be paid annually out of the College Treasury a guinea for each scholar that takes his first degree, to be divided equally amongst the four.”

“ Voted, that this report, so far as it recommends a division of the services of the Tutors according to the sciences and branches of literature be approved ; and that the Corporation be desired to make a law to carry it into execution in such a manner as shall correspond with the services of the Professors.”

“ Voted, that the last article of the report, relative to the public gifts to the Tutors, be approved ; and that it be recommended to the Corporation to prepare a law agreeable to it.”

At a meeting of the Overseers, January 16th, 1767, “ a plan for the alteration of the services of the Tutors, recommended to the Corporation by this Board, having been passed upon and prepared by them, was now presented, with this vote of the Corporation, viz : ‘ At a meeting of the President and Fellows, December 16th, 1766, voted, that the plan for the advancement of learning be entered upon immediately after the winter vacation.’ Read and consented to.”

It was voted by the Corporation, on the 20th of April following, “ That each class be instructed four days successively in every week in the same branch of learning by the Tutor to whose department it belongs, viz : on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday ; and shall attend the several Tutors in rotation ; whereby each Tutor shall have the same class every fourth week.

“ That the classes shall attend their respective Tutors on Friday and Saturday morning as has been usual.

“That if any scholar shall have occasion to go out of town on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday, he shall apply for leave to that Tutor whom he is to attend on said days ; if on Friday and Saturday, to the Tutor whom he is to attend the next week.”

A more important alteration in the arrangements of the College could not be easily imagined. Upon the old plan no considerable advancement of learning could ever have taken place. Scanty as the above list of text-books now appears, it was yet more than one man, unless far above the ordinary standard, could teach, in a thorough and suitable manner, especially while he had other important duties to perform as a member of the government. But, in consequence of the distribution of services now introduced, though each instructor gave as much of his time to all the classes, as he had before devoted to his own particular class, his attention being now mostly confined to one branch of learning, he would acquire so intimate an acquaintance with it, and such a facility in teaching it, that he would not only discharge his functions much more ably and usefully, but might very conveniently increase the number of text-books in his department, whenever it was desired, and at the same time find more leisure to attend to the general concerns of the College. While, therefore, the old system was calculated to keep education fixed and stationary ; the new one admitted of an expansion in the circle of academical exercises, which was suited to the progress of learning and refinement, and to the growing wants of society.

There is another consideration, connected with this subject, which merits, perhaps, some attention. With all the care that could have been taken in the appoint-

ment of Tutors, a difference must always have existed among them, as to their talents and qualifications ; and occasionally some individual would possess a marked superiority over his Colleagues, unless we are to suppose the absurdity of his being excluded for being too great a scholar ; so that when each class was confined to a particular Tutor, the different classes must have enjoyed different advantages, with respect to the instruction they severally received. On the new plan, such inequality was removed, as each class was in turn instructed by each Tutor.

All these measures, adopted with a view to the advancement of learning, solid or ornamental, were incidentally productive of other beneficial effects. By supplying the students with additional occupation and excitement, and thus diminishing their leisure and inclination for irregular indulgences, they tended to improve the condition of the College, with respect to morality, order, and even religion. Sufficient room, however, was left for the employment of *direct* means in these respects ; and in this as great a degree of vigilance, energy, and strictness was exerted, as is perhaps consistent with the allowance of that freedom, which is necessary for the developement of the various faculties and properties of the mind. We have already seen, that the officers themselves were not spared, when they became offenders ; and the examples which were made in the early part of this presidency, painful as they were, must have had a salutary effect.

CHAPTER XXV.

AT the time the College was making the acquisitions before mentioned, for the advancement of education, it experienced a severe deprivation, by the death of the learned and excellent Professor of Divinity. The circumstances of Mr. Wigglesworth's appointment and inauguration have been already related; as have also some other facts respecting him, particularly the distinguished part he bore in the controversy with Mr Whitefield; but of an officer so eminent and valuable something further will be expected.

Professor Wigglesworth's father was the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, of Malden, who was graduated at this College in 1651; and, from the rank of his family, stands at the head of his class in the Catalogue. He is said to have been a Fellow of the Corporation. His name is at least found among the names of the fifteen Fellows mentioned in the temporary act of 1697.¹ He died at Malden, June 10th, 1705, at the age of seventy-four years.²

At the Commencement following, which was then on the fourth of July, young Holyoke, who was afterwards President, pronounced the Bachelor's oration, and made respectful mention of this deceased minister,

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. I. p. 173.

² Sewall's MS. Diary.

stiling him “Maldonatus Orthodoxus.” Greatly esteemed, as an able, a sound, and pious divine, and as a skilful physician for the body as well as for the soul, he possessed moreover the talent of interesting his devout contemporaries by his poetical effusions. The largest of his poems, entitled “The Day of Doom,” passed through six editions in this country and was also printed in London.¹

His son Edward took his bachelor’s degree in 1710, and stands second on the Catalogue; John Denison of Ipswich, descended probably from the Author of *Irenicon*, being at the head. He immediately applied himself to the study of theology, was a candidate for the gospel ministry, and preached in different parishes. He appears, however, to have been one of those learned and ingenious men, who, like the famous Lardner, succeed better in gaining the attention and regard of the discerning few, than interesting the mass of a common audience; and, though “as a minister of a particular church he might not have shone among the popular preachers, he was completely accomplished for the chair of Divinity Professor.” He had been out of College upwards of eleven years; and was thirty years old, when he was appointed to this station. He died January 19th, 1765, in the 73d year of his age, having filled the office of professor forty-three years; a longer period than any person has yet held a professorship in any department. His conduct fully justified the high recommendation which was in the beginning given of him to Mr. Hollis; and proved him eminently qualified and disposed for the important task of instilling religious sentiments into young minds, and of forming teachers for the churches in this part of British America.

¹ See Kettell’s agreeable and valuable “Specimens of American Poetry.” Vol. I.]

He was many years troubled with deafness. This "unfitted him to shine in conversation, for which he had fine talents. On this account, however, he paid more attention to his studies; and his lectures were filled with arguments, excellent thoughts, liberal views of the Christian doctrines, and just discrimination of the contested points."¹ Most of the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire had at the time of his decease, been educated under him; and it is reasonable to believe that their general respectability was owing, in no small degree, to his wise and learned instructions.

Some idea of him as a lecturer may be formed from an account, given by one of the very few of his pupils still living, and who, at the age of ninety-two years, thus writes under date of May 5th, 1831:²

"We attended his theological lectures, both in the Chapel for all the students, and in the Hall to the two Senior classes. His lectures to the latter were confined to the subject of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. In those lectures, the Professor did not take a text of Scripture, but took some particular article of that creed and discoursed from it. His lecture was very short. He had no prayer nor any other service. I remember in the course of his lectures, he came across that article, which led him to consider the infallibility of the Church of Rome." The Doctor had a very excellent talent for satire. An agreeable vein of sarcastic humor runs through his discourse at the Dudleian Lecture, which is a masterly piece of clear and close reasoning upon the same Roman Catholic doctrine. The following passage, with a little of that seasoning, affords also some idea of the

¹ Eliot's Biogr. Dict. p. 486.

² Hon. Paine Wingate of Stratham, New Hampshire.

light in which Popery was regarded at that day. To such of his hearers as intended to study divinity his advice is, — “That after you have laid the foundations of your faith in the great points of natural and revealed religion, in opposition to the atheist and the deist, as deep and strong as you can ; if you find leisure and advantages to look much into the controversies between the several denominations of Christians, you would begin with that between *us* and the church of *Rome*. *That Church* is a restless, incroaching, and implacable enemy to Protestants of every denomination. It is indefatigable in its endeavours, *compassing land and sea to make proselytes*. It utterly denies salvation to any out of its communion. And its heresies, superstitions, cruelties, idolatries, and other crying wickednesses are such, that you will find it no very easy matter to persuade yourselves, that there can be any salvation in it. This is doubtless, therefore, the most interesting and important controversy among Christians ; and so deserves your attention in the first place.”

The *brevity* of his lectures is probably to be accounted for by a vote of the Overseers passed Oct. 7th, 1740 ; “That it be recommended to Dr. Wigglesworth, that, in pursuing his course of Divinity in his public lectures, he be more concise in the several subjects he treats upon.”¹

He was a very useful member of the Corporation ; “For,” says the venerable Dr. Appleton, “although his hardness of hearing was a great difficulty to him, when debates were carried on, yet, things being made known to him (to have his thoughts upon them), there always appeared in him such an accuracy of thought,

¹ Overseers' Records.

such a wisdom and judiciousness in his observations, as were ever of great weight with us: which I am able to speak from my own observation, having had the honor and pleasure of sitting with him at that board for more than forty years."

His constitution was not robust; and in the latter years of his life he suffered much from sickness and pain; he was also tried by severe visitations of Providence in his family; but the native vigor of his mind, and the force of those moral and religious principles, which he had cherished in himself with so much care, buoyed him up amidst all his afflictions, so that he was uniformly composed and tranquil. To great quickness of apprehension and strength of intellect he united a mild, sedate, and dispassionate temper. A gentleman in his manners and deportment, he was kind-hearted, affable, and obliging. His feelings were remarkably benevolent; for though he was greatly straitened in his circumstances, never having an income much, if any, above £200, and many years far less, he constantly appropriated a tenth part of what he received to pious and charitable uses.¹ Superior to most men in natural and acquired endowments, he may be pronounced inferior to none in those qualities which constitute a good and amiable character; and it is believed that his friend, the eminent Dr. Chauncy, was not at all extravagant when he thus portrayed him to President Stiles in 1768:² "I wonder I should not till now think of Doct. Wigglesworth, Hollisian Professor of Divinity at our Cambridge College, as he was one of my best friends and longest acquaintance, and had courage to speak honorably of me in the new-light

¹ Boston Evening Post—Tracts in College Libr., 258.

² Mass. Hist. Coll. X. p. 160, First Series.

time, when it was dangerous to do so. He was some years usher in the grammar-school in Boston. He left this employment with a design to settle in the ministry; and took a chamber at College about the time I was graduated there. He lived at College some years before there was an opportunity for his being chosen into the Professorship; all which time I had the pleasure of being many times in a week in company with him; and since that time I familiarly corresponded with him by speech or writing till he died. He is highly deserving of being remembered with honor, not only on account of his character, as a man of learning, piety, usefulness in his day, strength of mind, largeness of understanding, and an extraordinary talent at reasoning with clearness and the most nervous cogency; but on account also of his catholic spirit and conduct, notwithstanding great temptations to the contrary. He was one of the most candid men you ever saw; far removed from bigotry, no ways rigid in his attachment to any scheme, yet steady to his own principles, but at the same time charitable to others, though they differed widely from him. He was, in one word, a truly great and excellent man."

When asked by Dr. Appleton, the day before he died, "whether his faith and hope remained strong and steady," he calmly replied, "he thought he could say, that in some good measure he had walked before God in truth and with a perfect heart: and although there had been many defects and failings in his life, yet he hoped and believed that, through Christ, he should be accepted." "And so," adds the venerable minister, "we all believe, and are persuaded concerning him." ¹

¹ Sermon, pp. 38, 39.

Such a man could not quit the scene, which he had so long graced and honored, without some tributes of more than ordinary respect from those whom he left behind. Accordingly, the ministers and many other gentlemen from the neighbouring towns assembled to attend his obsequies; the body, preceded by the Students, was carried into the chapel, and an oration in Latin was pronounced by Joseph Taylor, a member of the Senior Class.

Among the publications upon the occasion was a "Poetical Essay" in blank verse, composed by Joseph Willard, a Senior Sophister; which manifests a vigor and cultivation of mind not unworthy of the future President of Harvard College. The following lines are extracted, not merely as a specimen of the production, but as the testimony of an honest muse to the sentiments of respect and affection, entertained by the members of the College towards their departed teacher:

" Strong and capacious were his mental powers ;
 His judgment clear and sound ; his diction pure ;
 His every word and line, full fraught with sense,
 Deep thought bespoke and treasures all his own.
 Great were his talents in defence of truth :
 'T was here he shone with a distinguished ray.
 How would he strip sophistic arguments
 Of every specious glare, that leads astray,
 From truth's unerring paths, th' unwary mind !
 How, with his cogent reasons, strongly urge
 The grand, th' important doctrines of his Lord ;
 'Till, cleared of all obscurity and doubt,
 His subjects shone bright as the noon-day sun !

Ye, Sons of Harvard, say, for ye can tell,
 Who once, so highly blest, sat at his feet,
 And catch'd th' instructive accents from his tongue,
 His weighty trust how faithfully discharged ;
 How steady he pursued that noble aim,

To form your morals, to inspire your hearts
With love of virtue, and pure wisdom's ways ;
To fill your minds with all-important truths.
Oh Wigglesworth ! could wisdom, learning, sense,
Protect their sons, and save them from the tomb ;
Could meekness, charity, and ev'ry grace,
That e'er combined t' adorn a human soul,
Their vot'ries snatch from death's rapacious jaws,
Sure thou, blest shade, hadst ne'er become his prey."

Dr. Wigglesworth was distinguished for his classical attainments, as well as for his learning and skill in theology. His publications, however, were altogether professional. They were, *Sober Remarks, on "A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church"* ; *A Sermon on the Death of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* ; *A Discourse on the Duration of Future Punishment* ; *Seasonable Caveat against believing every Spirit, in two Lectures* ; *A Sermon on the Death of President Wadsworth* ; *Enquiry into the Truth of the Imputation of Adam's Sin* ; *A Letter to the Rev. George Whitefield* ; *Two Discourses on the Ordinary and Extraordinary Ministers of the Church* ; *Dudleian Lecture on the Infallibility of the Church of Rome* ;¹ *The Doctrine of Reprobation considered* ; *On the Inspiration of the Old Testament*.

They no doubt ranked among the first productions of the kind at the time when they appeared ; and may now be read with pleasure and profit. They bear marks of great care in their composition, both as

¹ Dr. Morse made an unfortunate mistake in publishing, as evidences of the Professor's rigid Calvinism, some tremendous passages from a *Dudleian Lecture*, preached in 1760, by *his brother*, the Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth of Ipswich. See *Monthly Anthology*, Vol. II. pp. 209, 210, 322.

to thought and style. Perspicuity, precision, good sense, and good taste every where manifest the well-trained mind of the author. The doctrinal views, presented in them, come under the general denomination of *orthodoxy*; but the manner in which they are presented, shows the power of enlightened reason united with kind affections, in softening the sterner features of Calvinism, so as to give it the milder aspect, if not the precise form, of the Arminian scheme. This is particularly remarkable in a MS. Supplement to "The Doctrine of Reprobation briefly considered," preserved in the College Library. The Doctor was a Sublapsarian, or moderate Calvinist.

At the period of his election, as Professor, January 24th, 1721 – 2, it was "ordered by the Overseers, that a minute be taken and recorded of the several heads in Divinity upon which the Corporation examined Mr. Wigglesworth, viz.; that he appeared before the Corporation and declared his assent, 1. To Dr. Ames' *Medulla Theologiæ*. 2. To the Confession of Faith contained in the Assembly's Catechism. 3. To the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, more particularly, 1. to the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity; 2. to the Doctrine of the Eternal Godhead of our blessed Saviour; 3. to the Doctrine of Predestination; 4. to the Doctrine of Special Efficacious Grace; 5. to the Divine Right of Infant Baptism."¹

This is, indeed, rather a formidable array of Orthodoxy and Calvinism; but it should be recollected that human writings, as well as the inspired volume, often admit of great latitude of construction; and there is abundant evidence that Professor Wigglesworth's in-

¹ Overseers' Records.

terpretation of those several productions and doctrines was very different from that of men, contracted in their views, and intolerant or fanatical in their tempers.

Professor Wigglesworth's reputation was extended beyond the limits of Massachusetts, and even across the Atlantic. In the year 1730 he was honored with a diploma of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh. "He was for some time a Commissioner of the London Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and was chosen one of the Scotch deputation for propagating Christian knowledge;" but he resigned the one, and declined the other, on account of his increasing deafness. For the same reason he excused himself from accepting the offer of the Rectorship of Yale College.¹

His successor in the Divinity Chair was his son, Mr. Edward Wigglesworth, then a Tutor in the College, who was chosen Professor by the Corporation July 22d, 1765. On presenting him to the Overseers for their approval, July 25th, the President informed the Board, that the Corporation had conversed with Mr. Wigglesworth concerning his religious sentiments, and had received full satisfaction. The Overseers then confirmed the choice by a unanimous vote.

The solemnity of Mr. Wigglesworth's Inauguration to the office of Divinity Professor took place on the 16th of October, 1765, and was conducted in the following manner.

"The Hon'ble and Rev'd Overseers and Corporation, together with the Professors and Tutors, accompanied with many Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, the Clergy and others, and preceded by all

¹ Boston Evening Post, — Tracts in College Libr., 258.

the Students, having walked in procession from the College to the Meeting-house, Mr. Eliot began with Prayer; the President next pronounced an Oration adapted to the occasion; which being finished, the Statutes established by the generous Founder of the Professorship, Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London, were read by the Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy; in compliance with which, Mr. Wigglesworth took the oaths of the Government, and made such Declarations of his Religious Principles as were required. Upon this the President, with the consent of the Overseers and Corporation, declared him Hollisian Professor of Divinity. The Professor then pronounced his Inaugural Oration, and, another Prayer being made by Mr. Appleton, the whole was concluded by singing part of a Psalm.

“The company returning to the College Hall were entertained with an handsome dinner.” ¹

The fund for exhibitions to needy scholars had now received some accessions. President Holyoke contributed £100, and Mr. John Ellery, of Hartford, £150, both Old Tenor. Henry Flynt, Esq. who died Feb. 13th, 1760, bequeathed for the same object £112 10s.; his relations to receive the income in preference to others. He also bequeathed £93 6s. 8d., Massachusetts currency, equal to £700 Old Tenor, (or £70 sterling) the income to be given to four Tutors.

Mr. Flynt's legacies, however, form but a small part of his claims to attention in a history of the College. He was an important member of this society during the greatest part of life, which lasted eighty-five years. The interval between his taking his first degree and becom-

¹ Overseers' Records.

ing one of its officers was short. He was a Tutor upwards of fifty-five years, and about sixty years a Fellow of the Corporation. No other person has been connected with the College, in either of these capacities, or probably in any capacity, for so long a period, excepting Dr. Appleton, who was a Fellow of the Corporation sixty-two years. Mr. Flynt was also many years Clerk of the Board of Overseers. Most of the educated men in New-England during a considerable part of the last century, had been under the instruction of this remarkable Tutor, or of those whom he had taught.

In the words of Mr. James Lovell, who delivered a glowing oration in Holden Chapel at his interment: “Unum equidem de eo dicere licebat, antequam e vitâ discesserat, quod nunquam de ullo alio fortasse dici poterit; — in universâ domo literariâ inter Novanglos, se PATREM-FAMILIAS agnosci oportere. Nemo est inter nostrates literatus, qui ei aliquo modo doctrinam suam acceptam referre non debeat.” ¹

“Mr. Flynt,” says Dr. Chauncy, “is worthy of an honorable mention. I was forty years frequently conversant with him, and knew him to have been a solid, judicious man, and one of the best of preachers.” Though naturally inclined to indolence, “he treasured up a great variety of useful knowledge”; and was an able and faithful instructor. ² He was distinguished for his firmness and consistency. To the principles he had once adopted he adhered without wavering. This was partly the result of constitutional temperament; but mostly, no doubt, of the deliberation and care, with which he formed his opinions. If there were nothing

¹ Tracts in College Libr., 258.

² Dr. Chauncy's Sketch of Eminent Men, in Mass. Hist. Coll. X. p. 65, First Series.

else remaining to prove the solidity of his character, the record he has left of his sentiments respecting Whitefield at the time of his first visit, when he was almost worshipped as something superhuman, would alone suffice: — “He seems to me to be a pious, zealous man of good natural parts, and still good enough, but over censorious, over rash, and over confident, in some things enthusiastical and whimsical; he has treated the great and good Bishop Tillotson injuriously and scurrilously. I think he is a composition of a great deal of good and some bad; and I pray God to grant success to what is well designed and acted by him.” ¹

The same good sense was manifested in his checking one young man for his censoriousness, in saying to another who was talking about the “free grace of God in Election, and of the Decrees,” that “the Almighty’s decrees were above them,” and particularly in making these general observations, “Some have extravagances of a weak and warm imagination. I have talked with several, observed some were converted, some were humble and sincere, some were ignorant, but hope they mean well. We that are rulers here should watch against corruptions that may arise from this affair, against the devices of Satan; and pray for ourselves and them, that the true work of grace may be promoted, obviate ill things, and encourage that which is good. We need wisdom and prudence, and must pray for it, must be sober and vigilant because of the adversary.” ²

At the time of an earthquake, when some Students, who had been waked up by the noise and shaking ran to the room of the firm old man, as if for shelter from nature’s rage, he calmly said to them, “Poh, boys! go

¹ Flynt’s MS. Diary.

² Ibid.

back to your rooms ; earthquakes never do any harm in these high latitudes."

In his last sickness, Dr. Appleton asked him, if he was entirely willing to leave the world. "No," said he, "I can't say that I am"; but after a short pause, he added, "I don't care much about it."

Father Flynt, as he was familiarly called, was for some time the oldest living graduate of Harvard College ; and the venerable gentleman still living at the age of ninety-two years, whose honorable career has been crowned by the same distinction (which may he long enjoy !) thus, in a firm and clear hand, writes respecting him : "I remember very distinctly, hearing him preach for Dr. Appleton, when I was a freshman. He was the slowest speaker that I ever heard preach, without exception. He hardly kept connected in his discourse so as to make progress. However he made some amends for this defect by the weight and pertinency of his ideas. He was thought to be a judicious and able preacher, but not very popular. He never was settled in the ministry ; but preached as occasion required, and he published a volume of Sermons which were received acceptably by the public. He undoubtedly was considered as a useful instructor in the College, or he would not have been continued so long in office. I have often heard, that he was regarded as mild in his government of his pupils, and used to be an advocate for gentleness in punishing offenders. I have been told, that he would make an apology for them by remarking, that wild colts often made good horses. He was rather short and thick-set in corporal appearance, and when I knew him he had the marks of venerable old age." ¹

¹ Letter of Judge Wingate, to the author, April 2d, 1831.

He was rational in his religious views, catholic in his disposition, and a pious and good man. Not, says Dr. Appleton, "that he was without his foibles and failings. But," with a *naïveté*, remarkable in a grave funeral discourse, he adds, "any of them that were observable, I doubt not were owing in a great measure to that single state in which he lived all his days ; which naturally begets in men a contractedness, with respect to their own private and personal concerns : and yet his heart and hands have been oftentimes opened in acts of piety and charity to the poor."

His habitual seriousness was enlivened by an agreeable vein of facetiousness and humor. "Inerat ei candor animi, et festivitas quædam ; et illa antiqua urbanitas, quam Cicero apud paucos sui temporis remansisse queritur. Idemque acumen ingenii, quod juvenem ornaverant, senem Flyntium non deseruit. Adeò ut si quis, eo præsentem, ineptius se gessit aut dicacior jocis senem petivit, haud impune quidem abiit, sed sale candidissimo ab ipso sene perfrictus, illico obticuit." ¹

Some of his pleasant sayings are yet repeated, in which are discernible his characteristic steadiness and constancy. It was proposed in some parish to invite him to take the pastoral charge of it ; but objections were made to him on the ground that he was believed not to be orthodox. Being informed of this judgment of the good people respecting his religion, he coolly observed, "I thank God they know nothing about it."

Mr. Flynt's publications were, a volume of twenty Sermons, two single Sermons, and a Latin Oration at the interment of President Wadsworth. He was son of the Rev. Josiah Flynt of Dorchester, who was a

¹ Lovell's Oration.

nephew of President Hoar ; and he also had the honor to be related to the family of Quincy. ¹

¹ It appears by Flynt's MS. Diary, &c. that his sister married Edmund Quincy, who died in London in 1738. Edmund Quincy had a son Josiah, who was graduated 1728, and from him President Quincy is descended ; he was the President's grandfather.

CHAPTER XXVI.

As early as December 26th, 1760, the Corporation petitioned the General Court to make provision for the erection of a new building, stating that the number of the students had increased so much of late years, that there were upwards of seventy who could not be accommodated in the buildings already belonging to the College. The subject of this petition was not acted upon till January 16th, 1762, when a Committee of the Overseers, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Secretary Oliver, Mr. Danforth, Brigadier-General Brattle, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Treasurer Gray, the President, Mr. Appleton, and Mr. Eliot, presented to the General Court, a "Representation and Petition, showing,

"That as the inhabitants of the Province have been from time increasing in numbers, so in some degree, although not in equal proportion, the number of Students at Harvard College hath also increased.

"That it is now about forty years since any addition hath been made to the buildings of the said College for the reception of Students: That although every part of the three buildings is improved, yet there are above ninety of the Under-Graduates who cannot be accommodated with chambers, but are obliged to live as boarders in private families in the town of Cambridge: That all who are concerned in

the Government of the College, earnestly desire that good order may be preserved, and that every Under-Graduate may be under the eye and inspection of the Tutors : That such inspection cannot be had of those who live in families in the town, as might be had if they resided within the walls of the College : That the income of the College, stock or estate together, with the tuition-money, and the grants annually made by the Court are barely sufficient to defray the necessary charges of the Society : That if any addition be made to the sums paid for tuition, and the expense of education be increased, it would probably cause many persons to send their children to the Colleges of the other governments, where they may be maintained and instructed with less charge : That this would not only be dishonorable to the Province, but also, by carrying monies into the other governments, would in a course of years occasion a real loss, equal to the expense of additional buildings for the accommodation of the Students here.

“The Board of Overseers, although anxiously concerned for the prosperity of the College, yet sensible of the many heavy charges and burthens the Province has been subjected to, have hitherto delayed their application to the Court ; but they apprehend it will not consist with a faithful discharge of their trust to defer it any longer, and have therefore appointed them their Committee to prefer this their Petition to the Court.

“Massachusetts Hall is capable of receiving but sixty-four Students, and it is not easy to dispose the room in any house to greater advantage ; so that a building one third larger than that will be necessary to accommodate the whole number of Students who now live out of the College.

“So great a work the petitioners are sensible must occasion a very great expense ; but they think it their duty to lay the true state of the College before the Court, and pray that they would be pleased to take the same into their consideration, and pass such orders thereon, as the prosperity of the College, a Society of so great importance to the Province, does require, and as they shall judge proper.

“Read and ordered, that this petition be taken into consideration on Thursday next, three o’clock, afternoon.”

The subject was then taken into consideration, and again on the 13th of February, when it was referred till the May session, and on the 12th of June, 1762, the House “resolved, that there be built, and that the sum of two thousand pounds be granted and paid out of the publick treasury, to a Committee of this Court appointed to receive the same, to be applied towards building a new College at Cambridge, of the dimensions of Massachusetts Hall :

“Provided, that the workmen contract and give security to build the same, according to the estimate offered the Court the last year ; and that Royall Tyler, John Phillips, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, and Andrew Boardman, Esqrs., with such as the honourable Board shall join, be a committee to carry the said work into execution.”¹

On the 14th it was “resolved, that the Treasurer be directed to pay and deliver to Royall Tyler, Esq., the further sum of five hundred pounds sterling, in bills of exchange, drawn on the Province Agent, to be applied by the said Royall Tyler, Esq., towards pur-

¹ The Senate added to the Committee Samuel Danforth, &c.

chasing from England nails, glass, and other materials, for the building the new College in Cambridge ; which materials the said Royall Tyler, Esq., has generously offered to procure for the Province, free from any advance or profit.”

It was voted next day, that “Mr. Tyler should be under the direction of the Committee appointed to erect a new College in Cambridge, with respect to sending for the materials from England, as enter’d yesterday.”

December 30th, 1763, “James Otis, Jun., Esq., one of the Committee of both Houses appointed to erect a new College in Cambridge, acquainted the House that the Committee desir’d admittance, to lay upon the table an account of their doings, &c. The gentlemen were accordingly admitted, when Samuel Danforth, Esq., the Chairman, said as follows, viz.

“Mr. Speaker,

“We who are now admitted into this honorable House were some time since appointed a Committee for building a new Hall in Cambridge, for the accommodation of the Students at Harvard College.

“We have caused an Hall to be erected accordingly, and the same is now finished to the turning of the key, and in such manner as will (we humbly hope) be to the acceptance of the Government.

“The building is locked, and the keys of it we now deliver to be disposed of as the honorable Court shall order ; and take leave to lay on the table an account of the charge incurred in that work, together with our humble memorial relative thereto. — Which being done the gentlemen withdrew.

“And the House entered into the consideration of the memorial, representing that the said Hall had cost

five hundred and thirty pounds seven shillings and two pence farthing more than the four thousand two hundred and eighty-three pounds, (the amount of the estimate mentioned in said memorial,) and after a debate, Resolved, that the sum of five hundred thirty pounds seven shillings and two pence farthing, and the remainder of the said four thousand two hundred and eighty-three pounds aforesaid, be granted and paid out of the publick treasury to the Committee to enable them to discharge the accounts of the several persons employed in building said Hall.

“ The Committee of both Houses appointed to erect and build a new College in Cambridge, having made report of their doings therein ; and it appearing that the same building is well compleated, and finished in the best manner :

“ Resolved, that the thanks of this Court be given to the worthy gentlemen of the said Committee, viz. Samuel Danforth, William Brattle, James Bowdoin, Thomas Hubbard, James Russell, Royall Tyler, James Otis, Jun., Thomas Cushing, and Andrew Boardman, Esquires, for their assiduous and faithful services in this important commission.

“ Resolved also, that the Court remember with great gratitude, the services of John Phillips, Esq., deceased, who being of the same Committee faithfully and worthily assisted in the same commission, but lived not to see the happy completion thereof.

“ Resolved, that Mr. Speaker, Judge Russell, Capt. Livermore, Col. Clap, and Mr. Thacher, with such as the honorable Board shall join, be a Committee to consider to what uses and purposes the rents and profits arising from the studies, in the late erected College at Cambridge, shall be applied, and make report.”

March 9th, 1765, “James Russell, Esq., brought down the Report of a Committee of both Houses appointed to consider to what purposes the rents of Hollis-Hall may be appropriated, &c., as follows, viz.

“The Committee are of opinion, that the chambers and cellars of said Hall may, without any unreasonable burden upon the occupants be set at such rates, that the whole building may produce an annual rent of one hundred pounds.

“The Committee are further of opinion, that ten pounds of the said rents annually be reserved as a stock and fund for keeping the building in repair, and that the remainder of the rents be appropriated towards the support of two new Tutors, the remaining part of their support to be paid out of the College stock. Saving always, that after the first six years twenty-five pounds, part of the said rents, shall every year be applied to the purchasing of new books of the most valuable authors for the use of the Library.”

The new hall being thus completed, the first thing was, of course, to give it a name. This was done with no little ceremony and attention to etiquette. An account of the process, from President Holyoke himself, though somewhat minute in its details, will not, it is believed, be unacceptable to the reader. In a letter to Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London, dated February 8th, 1764, he writes as follows: “Our College hath been of late so much increased by the number of Students (at present 184 Undergraduates), that we greatly wanted accommodations for them; wherefore we applied to our General Court, that they would make us such a grant as would enable us to build such an house as we wanted; which grant, viz. £400 sterling, they readily made us; accordingly, we imme-

diately proceeded upon the affair, and erected a very fair building, much more beautiful and commodious than any we had before, which was finished the last summer, and contains two-and-thirty chambers. About which time, I being in company (on a certain occasion) with a large number of our ministers, when (speaking of said building) it was moved by one of the company, since the house is now finished, what will the name of it be? To which I answered, that as Mr. Thomas Hollis of London (your bountiful uncle) was by far our greatest benefactor, I thought it ought to have the name of Hollis, on which they all manifested their hopes it would be so called. Soon after this was a meeting of our Curators or Overseers, to whom I proposed *Hollis* as the name of the new building, on which they agreed that it would be a most proper name for it; but said they believed the Governor would think it his prerogative to give the name; upon which I waited on the Governor (Mr. Bernard) to whom I showed the great obligations we had been under to do honour to the name of Hollis, first with respect to Mr. Thomas Hollis, who was our greatest benefactor, as he had established with us two Professorships and ten scholarships, besides gave us a great number of books, and a most valuable philosophic and mathematical apparatus; and with respect to Mr. Nathaniel Hollis, who established two scholarships, and others of the name who sent us an orrery, armillary sphere, &c. &c. &c. And further, with respect to Mr. John Hollis, who sent us a large number of most valuable books; to which I added your own almost annual benefactions. I added, moreover, that though there was one of our towns which, for the honour of that family, was named Holliston, yet the reason of that

name would not long be remembered ; but if one of the Colleges was so named it would perpetuate the memory of our great benefactor, and the honour of his house. Upon which I told the Governor I requested that the new building at the College might be named Hollis. To which he readily answered, with all his heart ; and added, that upon the semi-annual meeting of the Overseers, in May next, he would come to Cambridge, and give the name of Hollis-Hall.

“ But the General Court meeting at Boston, some time in November, (after having sat about two months) desired the Governor, that before they should rise, they might in a body see the new building at the College ; accordingly the Court was adjourned to Cambridge on Jan 13, when the Governor and Council, with the Lower House, met together in Holden-Chapel, and when they were well seated (I having before desired the Governor he would then give the name, which he had consented to) I rose up and said :

“ ‘ As there are here present his Excellency the Governor, the Honourable his Majesty’s Council, and the Honourable House of Representatives, who by their vote gave to the College the new building in our view, it cannot therefore be an improper time to ask a name for it : wherefore I apply to your Excellency to give the name.’

“ Upon which the Governor, standing up, said : — ‘ I now give to this new building the name of HOLLIS-HALL.’

“ After this there was a gratulatory oration in English, given by one of the students, and that in a handsome manner. And after an agreeable entertainment of the whole Court (who dined in the College-Hall) they

went to take a view of the new-named building ; and then returned to Boston.

- “ Sir, I write you this very particular account of the whole affair, that you may see how very desirous we are to do honour to your worthy and munificent family.”

In the midst of these flattering circumstances, the friends of the College were thrown into great alarm by a project for establishing a similar institution in the County of Hampshire, in Massachusetts. Some inhabitants of that county presented to the General Court, January 29th, 1762, “ A memorial, showing, that there are a great number of people in the county of Hampshire, and places adjacent, disposed to promote learning, and by reason of their great distance from the Colleges, and the great expense of their education there, many of good natural genius are prevented a liberal education, and a large country filling up at the northwest of them, which will need a great number of men of letters ; they therefore pray for an act of the government constituting a Corporation with power to receive monies and improve them for setting up a Seminary for Learning ; and that a charter may be granted to the Corporation for the said Seminary, enduing it with power to manage all the affairs relative to the same, and confer the honours of learning upon the students of the same when qualified therefor.”

The subject of this memorial came several times before the General Court. A bill was brought in for establishing “ an *Academy* in the Western parts of this province,” and though it passed the House to be engrossed, it was finally lost.

Governor Bernard himself then undertook “ to prepare a charter for the establishment of a College or Collegiate School in the county of Hampshire ” ; but

when it was ready for delivery, he thought proper to lay it before the Board of Overseers, which he did March 8th, 1762. The institution was to be called **QUEEN'S COLLEGE**; and with respect to the means of instruction it was to be on a footing with Harvard College, though some of the officers were to have different names, and it proposed to withhold the power of conferring degrees.

The execution of this project would, in the opinion of the Board of Overseers, be so injurious to Harvard College and to the general interests of literature in the province, that they immediately appointed a committee to wait on the Governor, and request him “not to grant the said charter.” They also appointed a committee, consisting of Brigadier-General Brattle, Mr. Bowdoin, Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Mayhew, and Mr. Adams, “to assign reasons against” the proposed establishment; and ten days afterwards, the Committee reported to the Board, “Reasons against founding a College or Collegiate School in the County of Hampshire, humbly offered to the consideration of his Excellency, Francis Bernard, &c., Governor of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, &c., by the Overseers of Harvard College in Cambridge, New England,” which had been drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Mayhew. The Report was unanimously accepted, and a Committee appointed to present it to the Governor. Being a very interesting document, and yet too long for insertion here, it will be given in the Appendix. It will be found to have taken a comprehensive view of the subject, and to offer considerations which are at all times entitled to great weight upon any project for the multiplication of Colleges; especially in those prudential reasons, of which a summary is thus given. “If.

a College should be founded in conformity to the Charter prepared to that end, we should then have two Colleges in this government, the extent of which does not certainly require more than one. And if it does not really require more than one, then the establishing another would unquestionably be prejudicial in divers respects ; prejudicial to the general interest of learning, as well as to the particular interest, the growth, and prosperity of that which is already established. For by means of their separate interests, and a division of the strength, wealth, and affections of the people, naturally consequent thereon, neither of them would be suitably encouraged and endowed ; whereas one might probably be so, if there were only one, and all were happily united in the support and encouragement of it. And this one, in our opinion, would far better answer all the valuable ends of a College, than two rival Colleges, mutually cramped and kept poor by an opposition of interests : and this, we may add, at a much less expense to the province or people, in the whole, than would be necessary to maintain two, though but meanly and parsimoniously ; at the same time that setting up another College would be a very dangerous precedent."

To this remonstrance Governor Bernard returned a short, but mild answer, and concluded by declaring that he should "suspend the issuing of the charter," and should "not assist any applications for a like charter elsewhere."

A committee was then appointed, "to return the thanks of the Board to his Excellency for the kind assurances he has given of his regard to Harvard College and his complying with their requests, offered to him by this Board, and to acquaint the Governor that we

firmly rely upon the declarations he has been pleased to make relating to a charter for a College in Hampshire, and humbly to request the continuance of his favor to the Society under the care of his Excellency, as Head of the Board of Overseers.”

A committee was also appointed “to guard against the influence of any application that may be made *at home* [in England] by the Hampshire Petitioners, for a charter from home or elsewhere, in such ways as they may judge most effectual, particularly by transmitting to some suitable person or persons at home a copy of the reasons presented to His Excellency against the expediency of his granting such a charter.”

The Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, by Archdeacon Blackburne, contain some striking evidences of the solicitude felt upon this occasion, and of the jealousy with which Gov. Bernard was regarded. In a letter to Mr. Hollis, April 6th, 1762, Dr. Mayhew, after mentioning the apprehension entertained here that there was “a scheme forming for sending a bishop into these parts,” and that Gov. Bernard, “a true Churchman, was deep in the plot,” and requesting him to take measures for preventing it, writes thus :

“There has been another scheme lately set on foot here, which we are very generally of opinion would be highly prejudicial to Harvard College, and indeed to the general interests of learning amongst us. I mean, founding another College in this province at about seventy or eighty miles distant from the former.

“A number of persons in that part of the country lately petitioned our General Court for a charter to that end ; which petition, after many debates, was thrown out. Since which Mr. Bernard has taken it upon him, as the King’s Governor, to prepare a charter for that

purpose. This step has given an almost universal uneasiness and alarm ; not only as we think the scheme itself of bad tendency, but also because we generally suppose that the Governor has no such authority as he asserts, and has thus assumed to himself, of granting charters.

“As soon as the Overseers of Harvard College (consisting of all the members of his Majesty’s Council, the Congregational ministers of Boston and five other neighbouring towns) heard of the Governor’s taking this step, and before the said charter was actually issued, though signed and sealed, they had a meeting ; and a committee was appointed to draw up reasons against issuing said charter, to be laid before his Excellency ; which has been done ; those reasons, which are pretty lengthy, having been drawn up by your humble servant, instead of some more capable person.

“The Governor has returned an answer to them, such as it is. He has however promised to suspend said charter ; but he has intimated to us, that the persons who sued for it will make application home for another, in which we fear the Governor will give them his countenance.

“There is accordingly a large committee of the Board of Overseers (of which I have the honor to be one) appointed to transmit the reasons against founding another College, to England ; and to lodge them in some proper hands, to be made use of there, if there should be occasion, to prevent a charter’s being obtained from thence. Said committee is also empowered to make use of any other means, which to them may seem proper, to the same end.

“This was but three or four days ago, and we have not yet had a meeting, on the occasion ; so that I can-

not inform you to whom we shall more directly transmit the said reasons, or make our application.

“Mr. Mauduit has been mentioned by some persons on the occasion. When the committee meets I shall propose, if they are not sent immediately to you, that the person to whom they are sent shall at least be desired to communicate them to you, and to some other worthy gentlemen, whose united and friendly assistance we shall earnestly crave, if there should be occasion, to prevent a scheme’s taking effect which we apprehend would be of very pernicious consequence; of which perhaps you may have more lights to form a judgment when you see the said reasons. And I know you are so great a friend to this country, and to learning in general, that you would cheerfully lend your assistance in any proper way, in opposition to whatever appeared to you prejudicial to either.

“I am, Sir, with the warmest regard, and most sincere respect, your obliged, and most obedient humble servant,

“J. MAYHEW.

“P. S. Our General Court has lately incorporated a considerable number of persons here, by the name of ‘The Society for propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians in North America;’ of which Society I am a member. The act of incorporation is sent home for his Majesty’s approbation, without which it cannot take effect. I shall send you a copy of it. We have about £2000 already subscribed as a fund. We are not without apprehension that our *good friends* of the Church of England will endeavour to obstruct this scheme; but hope to no purpose. If our charter is confirmed, we shall endeavour to get our subscription enlarged, both here and in other parts; and apply our-

selves to this business, in the prosecution of which we are however in expectation of meeting with many difficulties.

“I am, &c. J. M.”

Mr. Hollis's answer to this letter, dated July 28th, 1762, is as follows :

“DEAR SIR,

“The scheme of sending bishops into your, and other parts of the British colonies, has been long talked of, and is not unlikely, some time or other, to take place. I do not think however that it will be attempted at present ; but whenever it is, and succeeds, shall be heartily concerned at it.

“The properest person that I know of to manage an opposition to such a scheme is Mr. Jasper Mauduit, who is a worthy and an active gentleman, has been for some years, especially since Dr. Avery's decline, a leader among the Dissenters, and in connection with people in power ; and now, I apprehend, is likewise agent for your province.

“He is also, for reasons before assigned, the likeliest to traverse with efficacy any application that may be made here at home for granting a charter for the erection of a new College in your province ; an application which, should it succeed, would not only be prejudicial to Harvard College, and the general interest of learning amongst you, but throw you again, by degrees, it is probable, with the other, into those self-same confusions that your ancestors felt once here at home, and magnanimously got rid of, by seeking out the woods of America.”

Mr. Blackburne observes that Gov. Bernard's granting a charter for the foundation of a new College

“ might be, and certainly was understood by the people of Boston, as a preparatory step to the grand project of subjecting them to episcopal authority ; for it may be taken for granted without having recourse to the terms of the charter itself (which by this time is far enough out of the way of examination) that Gov. Bernard would make no concessions of that kind, merely to accommodate the non-episcopalians of that Province” ; and he also intimates that “ his Excellency would hardly have suppressed this charter if he himself had not had some doubts ” ¹ as to his authority for granting it.

The satisfaction, produced by the escape from this peril, was enjoyed but a short time, when the College experienced a most serious calamity. Boston being infected by the small-pox, and but few of the members of the General Court having had that disorder, this body was adjourned, January 16th, 1764, to Cambridge. The College Library was occupied by the Governor and Council, and the Hall below by the Representatives. On the night of the 24th of January a fire broke out, which destroyed Harvard Hall, with all its contents, consisting of the Library, Philosophical Apparatus, and many articles belonging to different persons, who had rooms in that building. The following is the official account which was published at the time.

¹ *Memoirs of Hollis*, pp. 163, 164.

[From the Massachusetts Gazette, Thursday Feb. 2, 1764.]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRE AT HARVARD COLLEGE IN CAMBRIDGE, WITH THE LOSS SUSTAINED THEREBY.

“ Cambridge, January 25th, 1764.

“ Last night Harvard College suffered the most ruinous loss it ever met with since its foundation. In the middle of a very tempestuous night, a severe cold storm of snow, attended with high wind, we were awaked by the alarm of fire. Harvard-Hall, the only one of our ancient buildings which still remained,¹ and the repository of our most valuable treasures, the public Library and Philosophical Apparatus, was seen in flames. As it was a time of vacation, in which the students were all dispersed, not a single person was left in any of the Colleges, except two or three in that part of Massachusetts most distant from Harvard, where the fire could not be perceived till the whole surrounding air began to be illuminated by it. When it was discovered from the town, it had risen to a degree of violence that defied all opposition. It is conjectured to have begun in a beam under the hearth in the Library, where a fire had been kept for the use of the General Court, now residing and sitting here, by reason of the small-pox at Boston : from thence it burst out into the library. The books easily submitted to the fury of the flame, which, with a rapid and irresistible progress made its way into the Apparatus-Chamber, and spread through the whole building. In a very short time, this venerable monument of the piety of our ancestors was turned into an heap of ruins. The other Colleges, Stoughton-Hall and Massachu-

¹ “ Harvard-Hall, 42 feet broad, 97 long, and four stories high, was founded A. D., 1672.”

setts-Hall, were in the utmost hazard of sharing the same fate. The wind driving the flaming cinders directly upon their roofs, they blazed out several times in different places ; nor could they have been saved by all the help the town could afford, had it not been for the assistance of the gentlemen of the General Court, among whom his Excellency the Governor was very active ; who, notwithstanding the extreme rigor of the season, exerted themselves in supplying the town engine with water, which they were obliged to fetch at last from a distance, two of the College pumps being then rendered useless. Even the new and beautiful Hollis-Hall, though it was on the windward side, hardly escaped. It stood so near to Harvard, that the flames actually seized it, and, if they had not been immediately suppressed, must have carried it.

“ But by the blessing of God on the vigorous efforts of the assistants, the ruin was confined to Harvard-Hall ; and there, besides the destruction of the private property of those who had chambers in it, the public loss is very great, perhaps irreparable. The Library and the Apparatus, which for many years had been growing, and were now judged to be the best furnished in America, are annihilated. But to give the public a more distinct idea of the loss, we shall exhibit a summary view of the general contents of each, as far as we can, on a sudden, recollect them.

“ OF THE LIBRARY.

“ It contained, — The Holy Scriptures in almost all languages, with the most valuable Expositors and Commentators, ancient and modern : — The whole library of the late learned Dr. Lightfoot, which at his death he bequeathed to this College, and contained the

Targums, Talmuds, Rabbin, Polyglot, and other valuable tracts relative to Oriental literature, which is taught here : — The library of the late eminent Dr. Theophilus Gale : — All the Fathers, Greek and Latin, in their best editions : — A great number of tracts in defence of revealed religion, wrote by the most masterly hands, in the last and present century : — Sermons of the most celebrated English divines, both of the established national church and Protestant dissenters : — Tracts upon all the branches of polemic divinity : — The donation of the venerable Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, consisting of a great many volumes of tracts against Popery, published in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., the Boylean lectures, and other the most esteemed English sermons : — A valuable collection of modern theological treatises, presented by the Right Rev. Dr. Sherlock, late Lord Bishop of London, the Rev. Dr. Hales, F.R.S., and Dr. Wilson of London : — A vast number of philological tracts, containing the rudiments of almost all languages, ancient and modern : — The Hebrew, Greek, and Roman antiquities : — The Greek and Roman Classics, presented by the late excellent and catholic-spirited Bishop Berkeley, most of them the best editions : — A large collection of History and biographical tracts, ancient and modern : — Dissertations on various political subjects : — The Transactions of the Royal Society, Academy of Sciences in France, *Acta Eruditorum*, *Miscellanea Curiosa*, the works of Boyle and Newton, with a great variety of other mathematical and philosophical treatises : — A collection of the most approved Medical Authors, chiefly presented by Mr. James, of the island of Jamaica, to which Dr. Mead and other gentlemen made very considerable additions ;

also Anatomical Cuts, and two complete Skeletons of different sexes. This Collection would have been very serviceable to a Professor of Physic and Anatomy, when the revenues of the College should have been sufficient to subsist a gentleman in this character : — A few ancient and valuable Manuscripts in different languages : — A pair of excellent new Globes of the largest size, presented by Andrew Oliver, Jr., Esq. : — A variety of Curiosities, natural and artificial, both of American and foreign produce : — A font of Greek types (which, as we had not yet a printing-office, was repositied in the library) presented by our great benefactor the late worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq., of London ; whose picture, as large as the life, and institutions for two Professorships and ten Scholarships,¹ perished in the flames. Some of the most considerable additions that had been made of late years to the library, came from other branches of this generous family.

“ The library contained above five thousand volumes, all which were consumed, except a few books in the hands of the members of the House ; and two donations, one made by our late honorable Lieutenant Governor Dummer, to the value of £50 sterling ; the other of fifty-six volumes, by the present worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq., F. R. S., of London, to whom we have been annually obliged for valuable additions to our late Library : which donations, being but lately received, had not the proper boxes prepared for them ; and so escaped the general ruin.

“ As the Library records are burnt, no doubt some valuable benefactions have been omitted in this account, which was drawn up only by memory.

¹ Hollis's Scholarships.

“OF THE APPARATUS.

“When the late worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq., of London, founded a Professorship of Mathematics and Philosophy in Harvard College, he sent a fine Apparatus for Experimental Philosophy in its several branches.

“Under the head of Mechanics, there were machines for experiments of falling bodies, of the centre of gravity, and of centrifugal forces; the several mechanical powers, balances of different sorts, levers, pullies, axes in peritrochio, wedges, compound engines, with curious models of each in brass.

“In Hydrostatics, very nice balances, jars, and bottles of various sizes fitted with brass caps, vessels for proving the grand hydrostatic Paradox, siphons, glass models of pumps, hydrostatic balance, &c.

“In Pneumatics, there was a number of different tubes for the Torricellian experiment, a large double-barrelled Air-pump, with a great variety of receivers of different sizes and shapes; syringes, exhausting and condensing; Barometer, Thermometer; with many other articles.

“In Optics, there were several sorts of mirrors, concave, convex, cylindric; Lenses of different foci; instruments for proving the fundamental law of refraction; Prisms, with the whole apparatus for the Newtonian theory of light and colors; the camera obscura, &c.

“And a variety of instruments for miscellaneous purposes.

“The following articles were afterwards sent us by Mr. Thomas Hollis, nephew to that generous gentleman, viz., an Orrery, an armillary Sphere, and a box of Microscopes; all of exquisite workmanship.

“For Astronomy, we had before been supplied with Telescopes of different lengths ; one of 24 feet ; and a brass Quadrant of 2 feet radius, carrying a Telescope of a greater length, which formerly belonged to the celebrated Dr. Halley. We had also the most useful instruments for Dialling ; and for Surveying, a brass semi-circle, with plain sights and magnetic needle. Also, a curious Telescope, with a complete apparatus for taking the difference of Level ; lately presented by Christopher Kilby, Esq.

“Many very valuable additions have of late years been made to this apparatus by several generous benefactors, whom it would be ingratitude not to commemorate here, as no vestiges of their donations remain. We are under obligation to mention particularly, the late Sir Peter Warren, Knt. ; Sir Henry Frankland, Bart. ; Hon. Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia ; Thomas Hancock, Esq. ; James Bowdoin, Esq. ; Ezekiel Goldthwait, Esq. ; John Hancock, A. M., of Boston, and Mr. Gilbert Harrison of London, merchant. From these gentlemen we received fine reflecting Telescopes of different magnifying powers, and adapted to different observations ; Microscopes of the several sorts now in use ; Hadley’s Quadrant fitted in a new manner ; a nice Variation Compass, and Dipping needle ; with instruments for the several magnetical and electrical experiments, — all new, and of excellent workmanship. — ALL DESTROYED !¹

¹ “Mr. Hollis used to mention it as a singular circumstance which gave him pleasure, that four large cases of curious and rare books were sent by him to New England, and landed at the custom-house, and fortunately not received into the Library of Harvard College, which was soon after burnt. By this delay these books were saved. Among

President Holyoke in a letter to Mr. Hollis says, "No single thing could be saved." He also says, the Library "at least consisted of 5000 volumes."¹

Afflicting as this occurrence was to all the friends of learning in the country, it was far from producing any weak depression or despondency. The leading characters of that day were energetic, active, and public-spirited. They were men to set an example to future generations on every occasion requiring energy of thought and conduct; being no less than the immortal authors of the American revolution, already in its first stage of preparation. From such men the most prompt and strenuous efforts to repair the injury were to have been expected.

On the day but one succeeding the disaster Governor Bernard sent the following message to that branch which had charge of the public purse.

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

"I heartily condole with you on the unfortunate Accident which has happened to the College, and we have been the melancholy Spectators of.

"As your Bounty has just now been largely extended to that society, I should not so soon ask you to repeat it upon any common occasion: but as this extraordinary event has come whilst the building was in your immediate occupation, there seems to be an obligation that you should replace it. However, whether it is considered as a duty, or a fresh call for your benevolence, I shall be glad to join with you and the Council, in proper measures to retrieve this loss."

them 45 volumes of tracts, collected by Dr. Wallis, and other books which he said he could not procure again, nor should attempt it." — *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*. II. p. 607.

¹ Ibid. p. 731.

The subject was immediately taken into consideration, and it was then unanimously voted that, "Harvard College be rebuilt at the charge of the province." On the same day the Council gave this vote their unanimous concurrence;¹ a committee was appointed to carry it into effect; and the sum of two thousand pounds was granted out of the public Treasury "to enable them to begin and carry on the work." It was also resolved that the Committee should "procure a water-engine for the use of the College, not exceeding one hundred pounds in value."

With some additions afterwards made, this Committee were Mr. Tyler, Mr. Otis, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Boardman, Mr. Trowbridge, Capt. Henley, and President Holyoke.

The guardians and governors of the College were not wanting on their part in this emergency. "A Committee of Correspondence for obtaining benefactions from Great Britain, or other places, in order to restore the Library and Apparatus, and a Committee for procuring subscriptions," for the same objects, were speedily appointed.² The former of these Committees consisted of Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, Secretary Oliver, Commissary Hubbard, Dr. Sewall, Mr. Pemberton, President Holyoke, and Mr. Eliot; the latter of Dr. Chauncy, Professor Winthrop, the Rev. Mr. Eliot, and the Rev. Mr. Cooper. Letters were written to several gentlemen in England, to Thomas Hollis Esq., to Richard Jackson Esq., to Dr. Avery, Chairman of the Committee of Dissenters, and to Jasper Mauduit Esq., agent for the province, "desiring their interest with their respective friends in favour of the College." The Governor was requested "to make use of his influence in Great Britain to procure

¹ College Records.

² Overseers' Records.

benefactions" for it; and a similar request was made to "such members of the Board of Overseers as had correspondence with persons of character" in that country.¹

These proceedings were attended with the most gratifying success. On this side the water the subscriptions were very numerous. Gov. Bernard, who, whatever his merits were as Gov. of the Province, was certainly a good friend to Harvard College, gave a large collection of valuable books, more than 300 volumes, and ten guineas in money. The Hon. Thomas Hubbard subscribed £100 sterling, half to the Library, and half to the Philosophical Apparatus. William Greenleaf gave ten guineas and books to the value of £20 sterling. The Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead, besides many books from his own Library, presented books imported from England to the value of £10 sterling. Azor Orne Esq., of the same town, subscribed £20 sterling. The Hon. James Bowdoin presented an Orrery, which cost £86. 5s. sterling. Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, the Hon. Andrew Oliver, the Hon. Benjamin Pickman, and his son, Benjamin Pickman Jun. Esq., the Hon. Issac Royall, Nicholas Boylston, Esq., President Holyoke, Thomas Saunders Esq., of Gloucester, and Epes Sargent Esq., of the same place, with others, contributed liberally.² The sums subscribed were, as usual on similar occasions, exceedingly various; some of them being only a few shillings. But, the difference in the value of money, and in the means of bestowing, being considered, the gift of a shilling was then, probably, equal to that of a pound at the present day.

¹ Overseers' Records.

² Donation Book.

On the 2d of October, 1764, the Committee appointed for procuring subscriptions presented to the Overseers the following "Report, that they have attended that service, and, having made application to a great number of gentlemen in the most considerable towns in the province, have been so successful as to obtain from the generous friends of religion and learning the sum of eight hundred fifty-two pounds eight shillings and six pence sterling in cash. Over and above which Mr. John Hancock has generously fulfilled the intention of his late uncle, the Honorable Thomas Hancock Esq., by subscribing five hundred pounds sterling to purchase books by the direction of the Committee.¹ Several other Gentlemen have also subscribed particular sums which they purpose to give in books to the amount of eighty-eight pounds eight shillings sterling. Besides a large Collection of books given by a number of gentlemen to the value, as we judge, of above one hundred pounds sterling and three pair of globes. The several appropriations will appear in the annexed account in distinct columns according to the direction of the Honorable and Reverend Overseers.

Cambridge, Oct. 2d, 1764.

CHARLES CHAUNCY.

Per Order of the Committee."

This report having also been presented to "the Reverend the Corporation," this body passed the following vote, which was consented to by the Overseers: "Upon receiving the report of the worthy Committee appointed to procure subscriptions for an Apparatus and Library in the room of those lately consumed by fire, we

¹ Overseers' Records.

heartily congratulate them upon their happy success and return them our warmest thanks for the activity and zeal they have manifested in that service, — and pray them to return our most grateful acknowledgments, to the several generous benefactors.”¹ This concluding request was duly complied with by the Committee. The thanks of the Corporation and Overseers were also voted to Ezekiel Goldthwait Esq., of Boston, for his services in procuring subscriptions, and for his kind offices to the College.

A catalogue of books, to be purchased with the £500 mentioned in the above report, was sent to London. The books cost £54. 14s. sterling *more than* that sum ; and Mr. Hancock, afterwards so distinguished among the patriots of the Revolution, “generously added it to his donation.”² These books amounted to 1098 volumes, and filled an alcove in the Library.

The Province of New-Hampshire not having as yet any College of its own³ to divert its interest from Harvard College, hitherto the Alma Mater of her educated men as well as of those of Massachusetts, the General Assembly of that province, by the recommendation of Gov. Benning Wentworth, who had been applied to by the Corporation on the subject, voted £300 sterling for the purpose of purchasing books for the Library. A Catalogue was sent to the Rev. Dr. East Apthorp, then in England ;⁴ and by his care books to the number of 743 volumes, enough to fill three quarters of an alcove, were purchased with that sum. The gentleman, who rendered this kind office to the College,

¹ Overseers' Records.

² College Records.

³ Dartmouth College in New Hampshire was not founded till the year 1769.

⁴ Donation Book.

was a native of Boston, but received his education at the University of Cambridge in England, and came back to this country as a *missionary* from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In that capacity he resided in the town of Cambridge, and was the first minister of the beautiful Episcopal church built here in 1760. The publication of his Sermon at the opening of that Church inflamed the Episcopal controversy. Finding his situation, in consequence, not very comfortable, he remained here but a few years, and, returning to England, he obtained valuable preferments in the church, and lived till the year 1816, highly respected for his learning and accomplishments.¹

It seems at that period to have been a matter of course to look to Great Britain for assistance on such an occasion as the present. She was regarded with affection and respect as the venerable mother-country; the inhabitants of “both Englands” considered themselves as fellow-subjects of one great Empire, as members of the same family; and old England was familiarly designated here by the endearing appellation of *home*. Applications for assistance were accordingly made, as already stated, to brethren at home, and were met in a truly fraternal manner. Persons of different denominations, churchmen as well as Dissenters, recognised, if I may so speak, the common obligation.

No one of them appears to have taken a stronger interest in the College at this time, or to have exerted himself with more effect to repair its loss than that “worthy and active gentleman,”² Jasper Mauduit Esq. Upon his motion, probably, “The society for Propagat-

¹ Gentleman's Magazine for 1816.

² Mem. of Hollis, I. 161.

ing the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent," of which Mr. Mauduit was Secretary¹ [Governor²] gave £300 sterling. The main object of this Society, which belonged to the Dissenters, was the conversion of the Indians to Christianity ; and it is curious to see how the General Court of Directors of the Society managed to bring this appropriation within the limits of that object, as in the following vote passed April 6th, 1764, and communicated to the Overseers by Mr. Mauduit. "The Court having taken into consideration the intention of their Charter, that the said Colledge had heretofore and still continued to be of great service in educating and instructing young men who have afterwards become and probably may be useful missionaries among the Heathen Indians — And whereas the works of pious and learned authors are among the most necessary means of education and instruction, do resolve that the Treasurer do apply a sum of money not exceeding £200 towards purchasing such books as he shall think most useful for the said purpose." A few months afterwards this Society added to this sum £100, making their donation the amount above stated. Catalogues were sent to Mr. Mauduit, who invested this money to such advantage that the books, transmitted by him, completely filled an alcove, being 1101 volumes.

The good offices of this gentleman were exerted in various ways and with persons of different ranks and orders. But not content with bestowing his time and attention, he also contributed from his own purse. He and his brother, Israel Mauduit, gave £50 sterling, with a large number of books ; and it was voted by the Overseers, Oct. 16th, 1764, "that the thanks of this

¹ Overseers' Records.

² Donation Book.

Board be given to Jasper and Israël Mauduit, Esqrs. for their generosity and friendship to the College, and that they be desired to continue their good offices to that society." They were also requested to give the thanks of the board to the other generous benefactors of the College. ¹

Among those may be mentioned the Archbishop of York and Mr. Timothy Hollis, who gave each £20 sterling; the Rev. Dr. Harris of Honiton, Devonshire, who presented a large number of valuable books; the Rev. Dr. Lardner, Mr. Joseph Jennings, Mr. Nathaniel Neal, the Rev. George Whitefield, Dr. Fothergill, Barlow Trecothick Esq., afterwards Lord Mayor of London; Samuel Savage Esq., Merchant of London; Gov. Pownall, Samuel Sparrow, William Boyer, Richard Jackson Esq., John Ellicott, and others; each of whom made valuable donations to the Library and Philosophical Apparatus. Thomas Wibird Esq. gave £50. ²

The Rev. Dr. John Erskine, and A. Kincaid, both of Scotland, presented each a number of valuable books to the Library. The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland gave £30 sterling in books.

At the instance, probably, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, who had "expressed a kind and catholic regard for Harvard College," and who was President of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," this society gave £100 sterling towards replacing the Library. ³

It is worthy of remark that, at the very time when those Episcopal clergymen were conducting themselves towards their fellow-subjects of Massachusetts

¹ Overseers' Records.

² Donation Book.

³ Overseers' Records; and Donation Book.

in this friendly manner, they were encountering, from the honest-hearted recipients of their bounty, the most strenuous opposition to their endeavours to promote the cause of Episcopacy in this part of the British empire; that some of them had personal causes of irritation, and that the *conduct* of the last named society had just been severely censured here, particularly by the celebrated Dr. Mayhew, as at variance with its *charter*.

Numerous and liberal as were the benefactions received from these various persons and societies in Great Britain, those of Thomas Hollis Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, exceeded in amount the whole of them united. This extraordinary man inherited the estate of his great uncle, Thomas Hollis, of whose bounty to the College so much has already been said in this work. Possessing a kindred spirit with that excellent man, he devoted his life and fortune to acts of beneficence. Harvard College attracted his attention at an early period. Some of his gifts were destroyed by the fire. Immediately after this event, he gave £200 sterling to aid in replacing the philosophical apparatus, and began to purchase books for the Library. "I am preparing," says he, in a letter to Dr. Mayhew, "and going on with my mite to Harvard College, and lament the loss it has suffered exceedingly; but hope a public library will no more be turned into a council-room."¹ He continued transmitting books till within three or four years of his death, which took place in 1774. The whole amount of his benefactions during his lifetime, was supposed to exceed £1400 sterling;² and at his death he left £500, now constituting, with some unexpended interest, a fund of \$3000, the income of which is applied to the

¹ Memoirs of Hollis, Vol. I. p. 220.

² Donation Book.

purchase of books. He not only gave his money, but his time, his attention, and his labor. He took unwearyed pains to collect the best books, in various languages, ancient and modern, and in all the departments of science and literature.¹

In one of the tributes to his memory, which appeared soon after his decease, and which are preserved in that interesting work, "The Memoirs of Thomas Hollis," by Archdeacon Blackburne, it was justly ob-

¹ Besides the intrinsic value of the works presented by Mr. Hollis, there is much about them which indicates a lively interest in his benevolent occupation. The binding is always in the best style; on the covers are curious emblematical decorations; and the books often contain notes and remarks in his own hand-writing. Such expressions as "Ut Spargam!" "Felicity is Freedom," &c. frequently occur; and sometimes bibliographical and other notices of considerable extent. A few specimens of these will not, it is believed, be unacceptable to the reader.

Stephens's *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae*, for example, is accompanied with the following notice; "T. H. has been looking out, about two years, for a fine copy of Harry Stephens' Greek *Thesaurus* for Harvard College. At length he has purchased one out of the Library of the learned Dr. Samuel Chandler. It can hardly be imagined what difficulty there is, even where money and industry are not wanting, to procure *good* copies of the old and best editions of classical and prime authors." In the *Thesaurus Linguae Arabicæ* of Giggeius, he says; "This is a fine copy of a very scarce work. T. H. has been particularly industrious in collecting Grammars and Lexicons of the oriental *Root* languages, to send to Harvard College, in hopes of forming by that means, assisted by the energy of the leaders, always beneficent, a few *prime Scholars*, honours to their country, and lights to mankind," &c.

In the splendid large-paper, *loyal* copy of Walton's Polyglott Bible (remarkable more particularly as containing a *Dedication to Charles the Second*,) he writes thus; "Thomas Hollis, an Englishman, a Lover of Liberty, civil and religious, citizen of the world, is desirous of having the honor to present this set of books (a gift originally of the author of it to Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of England,) to the public library of Harvard College, at Cambridge, in New England. Pall Mall, Aug. 12, 1764."

served "that in his death Liberty lost her champion, Humanity her treasurer, and Charity her steward."¹

In the mean time the building of the hall was proceeding. It was not completely finished however till the year 1766.² It is entirely of brick, and stands on the very spot where the building did, which was burnt, and from which it has received the name of Harvard Hall. There have never been any apartments in it, as there were in that, for the occupation of students or others; but it has been used exclusively for the general purposes of the institution. The western half of the upper story contained the Library in ten alcoves or recesses, five on each side; and the eastern half was divided into rooms for the accommodation of the Philosophical Department, and a museum of natural and artificial curiosities. On the eastern half of the lower floor was the Commons Hall, and on the western, the Chapel. Of all, but the western half of the upper floor, a different disposition has since been made. The clock and bell of the University remain still attached to this building. It is said the design of this edifice was furnished by Gov. Bernard, and that "while it was building, he would suffer not the least deviation from his plan, to be made."³ The cost of the new Hall was £6112 18s. 7¼d. In addition to this, various sums were paid out of the public treasury to officers and students, who lost property, amounting in all to £685 14s. 8d; so that, including the fire-engine, the Province by this event was put to the expense of nearly £6900, or 23,000 dollars, besides other inci-

¹ *Memoirs of Hollis*, Vol. I. p. 468.

² *Journal of H. of Rep. of Mass.*

³ *Eliot's Biog. Dict.* art. *Bernard*.

dental charges; a loss, which could not be so easily borne then, as ten times that amount might at the present day.

The result of all these labors and bounties was gratifying in the highest degree. An old building, old books, and old instruments were exchanged for new, more elegant, and in many respects more valuable ones; and an impulse was given towards the augmentation of the Library which is felt to the present moment, and has raised it to a point, which almost secures to it a due measure of attention in future. The only evils suffered by the College from an event, which at first nearly threatened its very existence, was a short temporary deprivation of some accommodations and of some of the means and instruments of study; and even for this, in one important particular, a remedy was provided by a vote of the Corporation, in June, 1764, allowing those, who were then candidates for their first degree, an advantage which they must otherwise lose, that of attending afterwards a course of mathematical and philosophical experiments, as soon as the apparatus then about to be sent for should arrive.¹

Nor was this deprivation so important as it would have been, had not the students been prevented from attending College by another cause. That once terrible scourge of man, the small-pox, had occasionally interrupted the business of the society and scattered its members, probably from its first establishment. This was particularly the case in the year 1764. The students were absent from the College on account of it for several months immediately succeeding the fire; so that, the

¹ Overseers' Records.

requisite preparations for Commencement having been *precluded*, and the danger of infection being much increased at that time, by the great resort of people from Boston and other places, the presence of those who were to take their degrees as usual, was not required this year.

President Holyoke was born in Boston, had the rudiments of his education at the North Grammar School, and was graduated at Cambridge in the year 1705. He was chosen Tutor in 1712, the next year a Fellow of the Corporation, and in 1737, President of the Institution, which flourished under his government. He died during the first week in June, 1769 ; on which occasion the following just and highly honorable character of him was drawn up by one of the Fellows of the College :

“Those, who have subdued nations and ravaged empires, have not failed of writers, who have recorded their heroic deeds, and raised literary monuments to their memory. But let not the hero — rather the homicide, who has, in one day, ruined whole provinces ; — let not the tyrant, who has owed his greatness to the slavery of millions, be celebrated in the records of fame, while the patron of science, the friend of mankind, and the advocate of religion, who has always aimed at promoting the happiness of the world, have his actions passed over in silence, and his name buried in oblivion ! Rather, let those public robbers — the enemies of their species, be held in everlasting contempt and detestation ; while these worthies, who, like the all-cheering sun, have diffused their benign influences around, have their names transmitted with honor to the latest posterity.

“To commemorate the virtues of men of this latter character, who have acted their part well on the stage of life, is always grateful to generous minds; and while benevolence and gratitude prompt to it, the voice of the world justly demands it. Of this character was the Reverend EDWARD HOLYOKE, late President of Harvard College, who departed this life last Thursday, about three o’clock in the morning, in the eightieth year of his age. An attempt therefore, to produce to view some of the many excellent qualities that distinguished him, cannot but be approved by all, but the foes of virtue.

“This venerable man was descended from an ancient and reputable family; but far from entirely deriving his dignity from *that*, which is too often the case of many, his own worth would have adorned any family.

“His natural powers, which were very good, were greatly improved by an education at the College; and after he had received its honors, he did not neglect his studies, but prosecuted them with vigor and success, and accumulated a great fund of useful knowledge, in history, the learned languages, and the sciences in general; but especially natural philosophy and the mathematics, in which he was eminent.

“Such a man could not remain long unnoticed; he was therefore soon elected a Tutor of the College, and not long after a Fellow of the Corporation; both of which stations he filled with reputation to himself, and advantage to the society, with whose interests he was so nearly concerned.

“While he was promoting the cause of literature, and preparing youths for usefulness among mankind, he prosecuted the study of theology, to fit himself for advancing the cause of religion in the church of God.

And after he had served the College for a few years, he was called to take upon him the pastoral care of a flock of Christ in Marblehead. This charge he executed, as he did all others, with care and fidelity, and exhibited in his life, a comment upon the doctrines he taught, showing, by his conduct, that the religion of Jesus had an abiding influence upon his own heart. Though he was fixed in his principles of religion, and openly defended what he thought to be the pure doctrines of the gospel, yet he was far from being severe against those who differed from him in some things, if at the same time, they appeared to be sincere inquirers after truth. He considered catholicism as an excellent part of the character of a good man; and harshly to censure and anathematize those, who cannot think in all points of religion just as we do, appeared to him to discover, not only an arrogant disposition, but also a great want of that amiable temper, and that extensive charity, which the gospel of Jesus recommends. While he was in his pastoral charge he shone much as a preacher, his pulpit performances attracting a general notice; and his distinguished figure as a publick speaker, in conjunction with his many other excellent accomplishments, pointed him out as a person proper to fill some more conspicuous station in life. Accordingly, when the Presidentship of the College was vacant, in Anno 1737, he was chosen by the honorable and reverend Corporation and Overseers, to fill that important place; for which, as it is well known to every one who has had the happiness to be under his care, he was finely turned. Indeed he seemed to be by nature formed for the government to which he was elected, having an admirable talent for commanding the respect and reverence of those committed to his

charge, and supporting the honor of his station. His public appearances were noble, and the affairs of commencement were always conducted by him with a dignity peculiar to himself. For strict integrity and impartial justice, he was an example worthy the imitation of all who have any concern in public life : neither family connexions nor the ties of friendship could ever bias him ; and in determining censures, he was always governed by the nature of the offence and the good of the society. But though he had the strictest regard to the preserving of government and good order, yet he was far from taking pleasure in punishing offenders, and often did it with a reluctant heart, though for the public good he thought it necessary. Among his pupils he always distinguished merit far beyond birth or fortune ; and the virtuous and ingenious were always sure (however low their circumstances might be) of obtaining his peculiar notice. The distinguishing of such, he justly thought, had a direct tendency to advance literature, and subserve the interests of the College, which he was ever desirous of promoting to the utmost of his power.

“In his private character he was truly amiable. As a husband, he discovered a manly tenderness, which could not but inspire the sincerest regard and most lasting esteem. As a father, he shone in the government of his family, which, though strict, was ever gentle. While, by a certain dignity of behaviour, he commanded the reverence of his children, by the winning mildness of a friend, he conciliated their affections, and gained their greatest confidence and tenderest love ; and their obedience, not flowing from a servile fear, but from more generous principles, was never by constraint, but always yielded with pleasure.

“He had a most friendly heart, and his friendships were lasting: no turns of fortune, with regard to those he had once accounted his friends, ever induced him to alter his conduct towards them; and by nothing could they forfeit his esteem, but by discovering that they were not possessed of those virtues for which he had taken them into his friendship.

“He had such an honesty of mind as is seldom found. Whenever he passed any encomiums, they were not the words of empty adulation, but the real dictates of a sincere heart. When he told any of their faults (which he never declined, when he thought it would answer any valuable purpose), he did it with all plainness; but yet, free from the bluntness of a rustic, he executed in such a manner, that it seldom failed of being well received.

“He had a liberal soul that devised liberal things; and his ears were ever open to the cries of the distressed: he was always ready to acts of kindness, and he never dealt his favors sparingly. Many of the sons of Harvard can witness to his bounty, which has often relieved them in difficulties, and assisted them in their education. When any thing for the public good was set on foot, he was ever ready to help it forward to the utmost of his power, and when he bestowed any thing for such a purpose, the largeness of his mind was always discovered.

“As a man of piety he was far from being ostentatious, but his whole behaviour was strictly virtuous and exemplary; his attendance on religious exercises, steady and devotional, and his walk with God in secret, constant. — In short, in whatever character we view him, he appears to have been possessed of so many excellencies, as cannot fail to attract the esteem of all those who regard merit.

“He retained his vigor of body and strength of mind to an uncommon degree in his advanced age, and continued to perform all the duties of his function, with his usual punctuality, till about ten months ago; when it pleased the sovereign Ruler of the universe to visit him with a severe disorder, which soon reduced him to a very languid state, and left no hopes of his recovery. Till about ten days before his death, he was able to walk about, but after that was entirely confined to his bed. Through his long sickness he discovered great patience, and a resignation to the divine will; and we doubt not, that patience had its perfect work, and that he is now gone from this world of sickness and pain, to the heaven of rest; where his labors are at an end, and his works follow him.”

“The funeral was attended yesterday in the afternoon, * by the honorable and reverend Overseers and Corporation of the College, the honorable House of Representatives of the province, a great number of ministers from various parts of the country, and by many other gentlemen of distinction. — The attendants upon the funeral being too numerous for the College chapel, the corpse was carried to the meeting-house; where a Latin oration, suitable to the mournful occasion, was delivered by Professor Sewall, a prayer made by the Rev. Mr. Appleton, and the solemnity there closed with a funeral anthem, by the undergraduates of the College. — The corpse preceded by the tutors, librarian, resident graduates, and undergraduates, was carried round one of the squares in the lower part of the town, thence to the College, and

* June 6, 1769.

through a part of the yard, to the burying-ground, where it was deposited. — Thus were committed to the dust the remains of that truly excellent man — President Holyoke : may those who attended this solemnity, not content themselves with having paid the funeral rites, but continue to adorn his memory, by following his amiable example !” ¹

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. VIII, First Series. pp. 70–75.

CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
HON. PAINE WINGATE WITH THE AUTHOR.

[The Correspondence, which took place between the Hon. Paine Wingate and the Author, has been occasionally referred to by the latter as one of his authorities; and a few extracts have been given from it. But upon further examination it was found to contain some additional facts of an ancient date in relation to the University, which would be of no small interest to the sons of Harvard; an interest, which is heightened by the circumstance of their being furnished by the eldest surviving graduate; who, at the great age of ninety-two years, writes a firm hand, and has a freshness of recollection, and a vigor of intellect, which fall to the lot of few men. The following additional extracts from the Correspondence will, accordingly, be read with peculiar interest by every one who takes an interest in the Institution which is the subject of it.]

FROM JUDGE WINGATE TO MR. PEIRCE.

“ Stratham, January 25, 1831.

“ You express a wish to have from me some account of conducting Commencements whilst I was in College. You will recollect the length of time since I graduated, and the treacherous memory of a man ninety-two years old, and will not expect a very minute or correct account. It is now thirty-five years since I have attended a Commencement, and I may possibly write to you things which are familiar to every one who has been at College. I do not recollect now any part of the public exercises on Commencement day to be in English,

excepting the President's Prayers at opening and closing the services. Next after the Prayer followed the Salutatory Oration in Latin, by one of the candidates for the first degree. This office was assigned by the President, and was supposed to be given to him who was the best orator in the class. Then followed a Syllogistic Disputation in Latin, in which four or five or more of those who were distinguished as good scholars in the class, were appointed by the President as Respondents, to whom was assigned certain questions which the Respondents maintained, and the rest of the class severally opposed, and endeavoured to invalidate. This was conducted wholly in Latin, and in the form of Syllogisms and Theses. At the close of the Disputation, the President usually added some remarks in Latin. After these exercises the President conferred the degrees. This, I think, may be considered as the summary of the public performances on a Commencement day. I do not recollect any Forensic Disputation, or a Poem or Oration spoken in English whilst I was in College. I well remember that about the year 1757 or 1758, the exercise of the Forensic Disputation in English was introduced and required of the two senior classes. And I think it likely, that about the same time it became a part of Commencement exercises. I have no written minutes to assist my memory. I once had a valuable collection of College Theses and Masters' Questions, which used to be printed annually. But some of my domestics have destroyed them."

FROM THE SAME.

"Stratham, Feb. 15, 1831.

"You inquire of me whether any regard was paid to a student on account of the rank of his parent, otherwise than his being arranged or *placed* in the order of his class ?

"The right of precedence on every occasion is an object of importance in the state of society. And there is scarce any thing which more sensibly affects the feelings of ambition than the rank which a man is allowed to hold. This excitement was generally called up whenever a class in College was *placed*. The parents were not wholly free from influence; but the

scholars were often enraged beyond bounds for their disappointment in their place, and it was some time before a class could be settled down to an acquiescence in their allotment. The highest and the lowest in the class was often ascertained more easily (though not without some difficulty), than the intermediate members of the class ; where there was room for uncertainty whose claim was best, and where partiality no doubt was sometimes indulged. But I must add, that although the honor of a *place* in the class was chiefly ideal, yet there were some substantial advantages. The higher part of the class had generally the most influential friends, and they commonly had the best chambers in College assigned to them. They had also a right to help themselves first at table in Commons, and I believe generally wherever there was occasional precedence allowed, it was very freely yielded to the higher of the class by those who were below.

“ Your next inquiry is, whether there was a more marked subordination of the students to their officers, and of the lower classes to the upper ones in former times, than at present ? This is a question which I should not be willing positively to decide ; but if I am permitted to give my opinion, I should say that there was a better spirit of subordination prevalent in society, and in College in particular, in my day, than is now generally to be observed. You ask me to mention some forms of respect then in use. It was an established custom in College while I was an undergraduate, that all the scholars should be uncovered, or take off their hats in the College yard, when the President or any of the tutors were present, or were passing through. And at all times the *freshmen* were to keep their hats off in the yard, unless when it rained. The resident graduates and all the senior classes were allowed to send the freshmen on errands as they saw fit ; only the sophomores were liable to have the freshmen taken from them by their seniors.

“ The last question you ask of me is more difficult to answer than any of the former. You very modestly suggest that it is your idea, that there was less of the genius of Republicanism in College before the American Revolution than there has been since ; and wish, if that was my idea, I would give you some

facts or anecdotes illustrative of it. I think that the government of the College in my day was a complete aristocracy."

FROM MR. PEIRCE TO JUDGE WINGATE.

"Cambridge, Feb. 22, 1831.

"I thank you for your favor of the 15th instant. It contains much interesting information respecting the College, and leads me to trouble you with a few more questions, which I will take the liberty to propound in as brief a manner as I can.

"How soon, Sir, after entering College, were the students *placed*, or (as I suppose the term signifies) arranged in their class according to the rank of their parents?

"Did they hold the same place through College; or was it changed, as the rank of their parents happened to vary?

"Was the arrangement in the Catalogue conformable to the rank which their parents held at the time they were graduated?

"I have an idea that to preside at a Commencement formerly required *more scholarship* than it has of late years, for I suppose the President, while the disputations were going on, was obliged sometimes to interpose, and to express himself extemporaneously in Latin. Am I correct, Sir, in this impression?

"Could you favor me with any particulars respecting President Holyoke? I would inform you, by the way, Sir, that we have a fine picture of him in the Library, by Copley, left by his son, Dr. Holyoke. He is painted in the venerable old *chair*, from which the President confers the degrees, and which was brought here from Mystic while he was President. This fact I had from the Doctor, who was at the Library after he was 100 years old, and who observed at the same time that he could go no further back with its history, but supposed it came originally from England. Perhaps you can state something about it. Was it regarded, Sir, as an object of much curiosity when you were in College?"

FROM JUDGE WINGATE TO MR. PEIRCE.

"Stratham, March 2d, 1831.

"The freshmen class was, in my day at College, usually *placed* (as it was termed) within six or nine months after their

admission. The official notice of this was given by having their names written in a large German text, in a handsome style, and placed in a conspicuous part of the College *Buttery*, where the names of the four classes of undergraduates were kept suspended until they left College. If a scholar was expelled, his name was taken from its place ; or if he was degraded (which was considered the next highest punishment to expulsion), it was moved accordingly. As soon as the freshmen were apprized of their places, each one took his station according to the new arrangement at recitation, and at Commons, and in the chapel, and on all other occasions. And this arrangement was never afterward altered either in College or in the Catalogue, however the rank of their parents might be varied. Considering how much dissatisfaction was often excited by placing the classes (and I believe all the other Colleges had laid aside the practice), I think that it was a judicious expedient in Harvard to conform to the custom of putting the names in *Alphabetical* order, and they have accordingly so remained since the year 1772.

“ It was, as you have supposed, that on Commencement days when the disputations were going on, the President had often occasion to interpose, and set the disputants right, as to the sense of the question agitated, and as to the arguments produced by the opponents. This was always done in Latin. And I believe that, during the course of the public exercises, the President always took occasion to express his sentiments generally upon the questions under discussion, and thereby displayed his talents at disputation, and his readiness at discoursing in a learned language. I am satisfied that President Holyoke was ever considered as conducting this part of his office, with ability and reputation. He never appeared to be at a loss for thoughts or language to express himself properly as occasion required. He was naturally dignified in his deportment without the appearance of vanity ; and he had a good spirit of government without austerity of manners. And I don't think that he was deficient in any of the good qualities which are requisite to make a good President. I am very glad to be told that there is a good Portrait of him in the College Library by an able artist.

The President was a very good-looking man, and I think he must be an ornament to the chair in which he is seated.

"I can give you no further account of the *antique chair* than what you already have.¹ The use it is put to is a very hon-

¹ [This "antique chair" has long been an object of so much curiosity, that, for the gratification of those readers who feel interested in the details of College history, the following note is subjoined.

The author of the present work, previously to his letter to Judge Wingate (above given), had made the following memorandum respecting it:

"The Chair was brought to the College during President Holyoke's administration. Dr. Holyoke is pretty certain it came from Mystick. He supposed it was brought from England;—never heard of its having been made by a Clergyman here. President Holyoke added the round knobs to the chair, which he turned himself. Dr. H. has been asked about it fifty times."

A correspondent has put into the Editor's hands the following curious extracts from Horace Walpole's *Private Correspondence*, giving a description of some antique chairs found in England, exactly of the same construction with the College chair; a circumstance, which corroborates the supposition that this also was brought from England.

HORACE WALPOLE TO GEORGE MONTAGU, ESQ.

"Strawberry-hill, August 20, 1761.

"Dickey Bateman has picked up a whole cloister full of old chairs in Herefordshire. He bought them one by one, here and there in farm-houses, for three-and-sixpence, and a crown apiece. They are of wood, the seats triangular, the backs, arms, and legs loaded with turnery. A thousand to one but there are plenty up and down Cheshire too. If Mr. and Mrs. Wetenhall, as they ride or drive out, would now and then pick up such a chair, it would oblige me greatly. Take notice, no two need be of the same pattern."—*Private Correspondence of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*. Vol. II. p. 279.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE REV. MR. COLE.

"Strawberry-hill, March 9, 1765.

"When you go into Cheshire, and upon your ramble, may I trouble you with a commission? but about which you must promise me not to go a step out of your way. Mr. Bateman has got a cloister at old Windsor furnished with ancient wooden chairs, most of them triangular, but all of various patterns, and carved and turned in the most uncouth and whimsical forms. He picked them up one by one, for two, three, five, or six shillings apiece from different farm-houses in Herefordshire. I have

orable one, and I hope it will remain for ages, and that many unborn will proceed from that seat of learning to bless our country. I believe that you have now got from me all that you can expect respecting President Holyoke. He has left very little in print to show his talent at composition."

FROM JUDGE WINGATE TO MR. PEIRCE.

"Stratham, March 16, 1831.

"I find that you have not done asking me questions; and I will endeavour to answer them although it will be very imperfectly. It was required of the freshmen that they should soon after they entered College, in my day, furnish a copy of the laws of the College, and produce them to the President. This they might do by writing a copy themselves of the laws, or otherwise procure them. When presented to the President, he wrote at the close of them, that at that date, naming the scholar, he was admitted into College. This was written in Latin, and dated according to the Roman calendar, and certified and signed by the President and a majority of the Tutors. This furnished the legal evidence that the person was a member of College. The laws were in the English language, and in my day there was no printed copy of them. There is one article in my College law book which I never heard any thing about elsewhere. It is as follows: — 'None shall be admitted a Fellow-commoner unless he first pay thirteen pounds six and eight pence to the College. And every Fellow-commoner shall pay double tuition-money. They shall have the privilege of dining and supping with the Fellows at their table in the Hall; they shall be excused from going on errands, and shall have the title of Masters, and have the privilege of wearing their hats as the Masters do; but shall attend all duties and exercises with

long envied and coveted them. There may be such in poor cottages in so neighbouring a county as Cheshire. I should not grudge any expense for purchase or carriage; and should be glad even of a couple such for my cloister here. When you are copying inscriptions in a church-yard in any village, think of me, and step into the first cottage you see — but don't take further trouble than that."

Ibid. Vol. III. pp. 23 & 24.

the rest of their class, and be alike subject to the laws and government of the College,' &c. Now I never heard any thing about Fellow-commoners in College excepting in this paragraph. I am satisfied there has been no such description of scholars at Cambridge since I have known any thing about the place, and whether the article yet remains in the College laws I know not. I shall leave it with you to make what use you please of my suggestion.

"There were no exhibitions, in my day at College, to which you refer, nor any substitute for them. I have no memorandum of the books which we studied in College when I was there, and I could give you a very imperfect account of them if I should attempt it."

FROM THE SAME.

"Stratham, April 2, 1831.

"With respect to Stoughton Hall. I was at College at the time of the earthquake to which you refer, and believe the effects of it were as visible at Cambridge as in any part of the country; but I don't know that the injury done to Stoughton College at that time was greater than to brick buildings generally. It was at that time occupied by the students, and continued to be resided in as a place of safety afterward, as it had been before. It had long been considered as a weak, slender building; but it was many years afterwards that it was deserted and taken down as not fit to be tenanted. I never supposed that the injury done to it by the earthquake was the cause of its being demolished."

FROM THE SAME.

[The following letter from Judge Wingate closed his correspondence with the author; and, though not strictly connected with the general history of the University, yet, as relating to the biography of the oldest surviving graduate of the present day, and as the closing letter of an interesting correspondence conducted with so much spirit and intelligence by a writer at the great age of ninety-two years, it has been thought best not to omit it.]

"Stratham, April 15, 1831.

"In my last I gave you some reason to expect that, agreeably to your request, I would in a future letter give you some

account of myself and family. That I shall now attempt, although in a very imperfect manner. I have no written memorandum, from which I can extract the early history of our family before the day of my grandfather. As he was the youngest branch of his family, and in early life removed from the place of his nativity, so the ancient deeds and other writings of the family naturally fell into other hands; from which some account of our ancestors might have been gained. And when I was young, I had not the curiosity which I now have, of enquiring of some of the oldest branches of the family respecting their ancestors. I can now only depend upon a defective tradition. The first of my name who came to New England was named John Wingate; who called himself John Winget, and so spelt his name until by better information he corrected his error. There are none of the descendants but now spell and pronounce the name Wingate. The first John Wingate came from England, a young man, without a family. He came to Dover, which had inhabitants in it the first of any town in New Hampshire. In what year he came there, is to me uncertain; but it is well known that he came in the early settlement of the town. He settled on Dover Neck (as it is called), where the first settlements were made. And, what is singular, the same spot where the first John Wingate lived, is possessed by some of the descendants of the family, and has been, without interruption, to the present day. The first John Wingate, who was my great-grandfather, had three sons. The oldest was John Wingate, from whom the most by the name of Wingate in New Hampshire have descended. This John had a number of sons and grandsons, who spread into the different towns of New Hampshire. My great-grandfather had a second son, whose name was Caleb. He, I have been told, went to Maryland or Delaware, and there settled, and that there are now persons of that name who live in that part of the United States; but I know nothing about them as to their numbers or their situation. The third and youngest son my great-grandfather had, was Joshua, who was my grandfather. And now I have come to a period in which I have more distinct knowledge. My grandfather was born February, 1679, and settled

at Hampton, New Hampshire, a young man. He married a wife from Newbury, with whom he lived until they were both ninety years old. They had eleven children, all of whom lived to old age, excepting those who died in childbed. My father was the oldest child, born in 1703. He graduated in 1723. He was settled in the ministry at Amesbury west parish; where he ministered more than fifty years, and died in his eighty-third year. My father had one sister, who lived several years over ninety, and three others who lived very near ninety, and the rest lived to old age, except those who died as before mentioned. My father had two brothers, one died over seventy years, and the other almost ninety years old, and my mother died aged eighty-four or eighty-five. Of my own family I have lived to be the oldest, being nine-two. I have one brother in his eighty-fifth year, and I have had three brothers who have died over seventy. My wife's family has been more extraordinary still for age, which is descended from my grandfather Wingate. There were born of her mother nine children, all of whom lived to be above seventy years old. One was ninety-three, and three others on the borders of ninety, and a brother was in his eighty-fourth year."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I. (p. 9.)

NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST FRUITS, *in respect of the progress of learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massachusetts-bay; with divers other speciall matters concerning that countrey; published in London, in the year 1643, by the instant request of sundry friends, who desire to be satisfied in these points, by many New-England men who are here present, and were eye or eare witnesses of the same.*

1. **AFTER** God had carried us safe to New England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civill government: One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman, and a lover of learning, there living amongst us,) to give one half of his estate (it being in all about £1700) towards the erecting of a Colledge, and all his Library: After him another gave £300: others after him cast in more, and the publique hand of the state added the rest: The Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge, (a place very pleasant and accomodate,) and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard Colledge.

The edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall: where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures, and Exercises; and a large library with some

bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the students, and all other roomes of office necessary and convenient, with all needfull offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this schoole: Master Corlet is the Mr. who hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulnessse in teaching and education of the youths under him.

Over the Colledge is Master Dunster placed, as President, a learned conscionable and industrious man, who hath so trained up his pupills in the tongues and arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of divinity and christianity, that we have to our great comfort (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progresse in learning and godlinesse also: The former of these hath appeared in their publique declamations in *Latine* and *Greeke*, and disputations Logicall and Philosophicall, which have been wonted (besides their ordinary exercises in the Colledge-Hall) in the audience of the magistrates, ministers and other schollars, for the probation of their growth in learning, upon set dayes, constantly once every moneth to make and uphold: The latter hath been manifested in sundry of them by the savoury breathings of their spirits in their godly conversation, insomuch that we are confident, if these early blossomes may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of learning and lovers of this pious worke, they will, by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time.

Over the Colledge are twelve Overseers chosen by the General Court, six of them are of the magistrates; the other six of the ministers, who are to promote the best good of it, and (having a power of influence into all persons in it) are to see that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.

2. *Rules and Precepts that are observed in the Colledge.*

1. When any schollar is able to understand Tully, or such like clasically Latine author extempore, and make and speake true Latine in verse and prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; and decline perfectly the paradigms of nounes and verbes in the

Greek tongue: Let him then, and not before, be capable of admission into the Colledge.

2. Let every student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and studies is, *to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternall life*, Joh. xvii. 3. and therefore to lay Christ in the bottome, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning.

And seeing the Lord only giveth wisdom, let every one seriously set himselfe by prayer in secret to seeke it of him. Prov. ii. 3.

3. Every one shall so exercise himselfe in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in theoreticall observations of the language, and logick, and in practicall and spiritual truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing *the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple*. Psalm cxix. 130.

4. That they eshewing all profanation of God's name, attributes, word, ordinances, and times of worship, doe studie with good conscience, carefully to retaine God, and the love of his truth in their mindes, else let them know, that (notwithstanding their learning) God may give them up to strong delusions, and in the end to a reprobate minde. 2 Thes. ii. 11, 12. Rom. i. 28.

5. That they studiously redeeme the time; observe the generall hours appointed for all the students, and the speciall houres for their own *classis*: And then diligently attend the lectures, without any disturbance by word or gesture. And if in any thing they doubt, they shall enquire as of their fellowes, so, (in case of non-satisfaction) modestly of their Tutors.

6. None shall, under any pretence whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead an unfit and dissolute life.

Nor shall any without his Tutors leave, or (in his absence) the call of parents or guardians, goe abroad to other townes.

7. Every schollar shall be present in his Tutors chamber at the 7th houre in the morning, immediately after the sound of the bell at his opening the Scripture and prayer, so also at the 5th houre at night, and then give account of his own private reading, as aforesaid, in particular the third, and constantly attend lectures in the hall at the houres appointed. But if any

(without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or lectures, he shall be lyable to admonition, if he offend above once a weeke.

8. If any schollar shall be found to transgresse any of the lawes of God or the schoole, after twice admonition, he shall be lyable, if not adultus to correction, if adultus, his name shall be given up to the Overseers of the Colledge, that he may bee admonished at the public monethly act.

3. The times and order of their Studies, unlesse experience shall shew cause to alter.

The second and third day of the weeke, read Lectures, as followeth.

To the first yeare at 8th of the clock in the morning, Logick, the first three quarters, Physicks the last quarter.

To the second yeare, at the 9th houre, Ethicks and Politicks at convenient distances of time.

To the third year, at the 10th, Arithmetick and Geometry, the three first quarters, Astronomy the last.

Afternoone.

The first yeare disputes at the second houre.

The 2d yeare at the 3d houre.

The 3d yeare at the 4th, every one in his art.

The 4th day reads Greeke.

To the first year, the Etymologie and Syntax at the eighth houre.

To the 2d at the 9th houre, Prosodia and Dialects.

Afternoone.

The first yeare at 2d houre, practice the precepts of Grammar, in such authors as have variety of words.

The 2d yeare at 3d houre practice in Poesy, Nonnus, Duport, or the like.

The 3d yeare perfect their Theory before noon, and exercise Style, Composition, Imitation, Epitome, both in prose and verse, afternoone.

The fifth day reads Hebrew, and the Easterne Tongues.

Grammar to the first yeare, houre the 8th.

To the 2d Chaldec, at the 9th houre.

To the 3d Syriack at the 10th houre.

Afternoone.

The first yeare practice in the Bible at the 2d houre.

The 2d in Ezra and Daniel at the 3d houre.

The 3d at the 4th houre in Trostius New Testament.

The 6th day reads Rhetorick to all at the 8th houre.

Declamations at the 9th. So ordered that every schollar may declaime once a moneth. The rest of the day vacat Rhetoricis studiis.

The 7th day reads Divinity Catecheticall at the 8th houre, common places at the 9th houre.

Afternoone.

The first houre reads history in the winter.

The nature of plants in the summer.

The summe of every lecture shall be examined, before the new lecture be read.

Every schollar, that on prooffe is found able to read the originals of the Old and New Testament into the Latine tongue, and to resolve them logically; withall being of godly life and conversation; and at any publick act hath the approbation of the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first degree.

Every schollar that giveth up in writing a System, or Synopsis, or summe of Logick, naturall and morall Philosophy, Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy: And is ready to defend his Theses or positions: Withall skilled in the originalls as above-said: And of godly life and conversation: And so approved by the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, at any publique Act, is fit to be dignified with his 2d degree.

4. *The manner of the late Commencement, expressed in a letter sent over from the Governour, and divers of the Ministers, their own words these.*

The students of the first classis that have beene these foure yeeres trained up in University learning (for their ripening in the knowledge of the tongues, and arts) and are approved for their manners, as they have kept their publick Acts in former yeares, ourselves being present at them; so have they lately kept two solemn Acts for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magistrates, and the Ministers from all parts, with all

sorts of schollars, and others in great numbers were present, and did heare their exercises; which were Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations, and Hebrew Analysis, Grammaticall, Logically, and Rhetoricall of the Psalms: And their answers and disputations in Logically, Ethicall, Physicall, and Metaphysicall questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree, (commonly called Batchelour) *pro more Academicarum in Anglia*: Being first presented by the President to the Magistrates and Ministers, and by him, upon their approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a booke of arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the hall upon any of the arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the library.

All things in the Colledge are at present, like to proceed even as wee can wish, may it but please the Lord to goe on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithfull and able servants in our owne native country, and here (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this honourable and most hopeful worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (generally) doe fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation of the Lord's goodnesse for us hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the churches of Christ Jesus.

Your very loving friends, &c.

Boston, in New England, Sept. the 26, 1642.

[*New England's First Fruits*, in Mass. Hist. Coll. I. pp. 242 – 246.]

No. II. (p. 10.)

The Act establishing the Overseers of Harvard College.

At a General Court held at Boston in the year 1642.

WHEREAS, through the good hand of God upon us, there is a College founded in Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, called HARVARD COLLEGE, for the encouragement whereof this Court has given the sum of four hundred pounds, and also the revenue of the ferry betwixt Charlestown and Boston, and that the well ordering and managing of the said College is of great concernment,

It is therefore ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that the Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, and all the Magistrates of this jurisdiction, together with the teaching Elders of the six next adjoining towns, viz. Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, and the President of the said College for the time being, shall, from time to time, have full power and authority to make and establish all such orders, statutes, and constitutions, as they shall see necessary for the instituting, guiding, and furthering of the said College, and the several members thereof, from time to time, in piety, morality, and learning: As also to dispose, order, and manage to the use and behoof of the said College, and the members thereof, all gifts, legacies, bequeaths,* revenues, lands, and donations, as either have been, are, or shall be conferred, bestowed, or any ways shall fall, or come to the said College.

And whereas it may come to pass, that many of the said Magistrates and said Elders may be absent, or otherwise employed about other weighty affairs, when the said College may need their present help and counsel, — It is therefore ordered, that the greater number of Magistrates and Elders, which shall be present, with the President, shall have the power of the whole. Provided that if any constitution, order, or orders, by them made, shall be found hurtful to the said College, or the

[* *Bequeathalls* is the word in the Records of the General Court.]

members thereof, or to the weal-public, then, upon appeal of the party, or parties grieved, unto the company of Overseers first mentioned, they shall repeal the said order, or orders, if they shall see cause, at their next meeting, or stand accountable thereof to the next General Court.

[Taken from the old Colony Laws, printed 1675. Title, *College*, p. 29. Vide General Court Records, II. p. 24.]

No. III. (p. 10.)

The Charter of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, under the seal of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and bearing date May 30th, A. D. 1650.

WHEREAS, through the good hand of God, many well devoted persons have been, and daily are moved, and stirred up, to give and bestow, sundry gifts, legacies, lands, and revenues, for the advancement of all good literature, arts, and sciences in Harvard College, in Cambridge in the County of Middlesex, and to the maintenance of the President and Fellows, and for all accommodations of buildings, and all other necessary provisions, that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this country, in knowledge and godliness.

It is therefore ordered, and enacted by this Court, and the authority thereof, that for the furthering of so good a work and for the purposes aforesaid, from henceforth that the said College, in Cambridge in Middlesex, in New England, shall be a Corporation, consisting of seven persons, to wit, a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer or Bursar: and that Henry Dunster shall be the first President, Samuel Mather, Samuel Danforth, Masters of Art, Jonathan Mitchell, Comfort Starr, and Samuel Eaton, Bachelors of Art, shall be the five Fellows, and Thomas Danforth to be present Treasurer, all of them being inhabitants in the Bay, and shall be the first seven persons of which the said Corporation shall consist: and that the said seven persons, or the greater number of them, procuring the presence of the Overseers of the College, and by their counsel and consent, shall have power, and are hereby authorized, at any time, or times, to elect a new President, Fellows, or Treasurer, so oft, and from time to time, as any of the said person, or persons shall die, or be removed, which said President and Fellows, for the time being, shall for ever hereafter, in name and fact, be one body politic and corporate in law, to all intents and purposes; and shall have perpetual succession; and shall be called by the name of President and Fellows of Harvard College, and shall, from time to time, be eligible as aforesaid.

And by that name they, and their successors, shall and may purchase and acquire to themselves, or take and receive upon free-gift and donation, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within this jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, not exceeding the value of five hundred pounds per annum, and any goods and sums of money whatsoever, to the use and behoof of the said President, Fellows, and scholars of the said College: and also may sue and plead, or be sued and impleaded by the name aforesaid, in all Courts and places of judicature, within the jurisdiction aforesaid.

And that the said President, with any three of the Fellows, shall have power, and are hereby authorized, when they shall think fit, to make and appoint a common seal, for the use of the said Corporation. And the President and Fellows, or the major part of them, from time to time, may meet and choose such officers and servants for the College, and make such allowance to them, and them also to remove, and after death, or removal, to choose such others, and to make, from time to time, such orders and by-laws, for the better ordering, and carrying on the work of the College, as they shall think fit. Provided, the said orders be allowed by the Overseers. And also, that the President and Fellows, or major part of them with the Treasurer, shall have power to make conclusive bargains for lands and tenements, to be purchased by the said Corporation, for valuable considerations.

And for the better ordering of the government of the said College and Corporation, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the President, and three more of the Fellows, shall and may, from time to time, upon due warning or notice given by the President to the rest, hold a meeting, for the debating and concluding of affairs concerning the profits and revenues of any lands, and disposing of their goods, (provided that all the said disposings be according to the will of the donors :) and for direction in all emergent occasions; execution of all orders and by-laws; and for the procuring of a general meeting of all the Overseers and Society, in great and difficult cases; and in cases of non-agreement; in all which cases aforesaid, the conclusion shall be made by the major part, the said President having a casting voice, the Overseers consenting thereunto. And that all the aforesaid transactions shall tend to, and for the use and behoof of the President, Fellows, scholars, and

officers of the said College, and for all accommodations of buildings, books, and all other necessary provisions, and furnitures, as may be for the advancement and education of youth, in all manner of good literature, arts, and sciences. And further be it ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that all the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, houses, or revenues, within this jurisdiction, to the aforesaid President or College appertaining, not exceeding the value of five hundred pounds per annum, shall, from henceforth, be freed from all civil impositions, taxes, and rates; all goods to the said Corporation, or to any scholars thereof appertaining, shall be exempted from all manner of toll, customs, and excise whatsoever. And that the said President, Fellows, and scholars, together with the servants, and other necessary officers to the said President, or College appertaining, not exceeding ten, viz. three to the President, and seven to the College belonging, shall be exempted from all personal civil offices, military exercises, or services, watchings, and wardings: and such of their estates, not exceeding one hundred pounds a man, shall be free from all country taxes, or rates whatsoever, and none others.

In witness whereof, the Court hath caused the seal of the colony to be hereunto affixed. Dated the one and thirtieth day of the third month, called May, anno 1650.



THOMAS DUDLEY, *Governor.*

[A copy of the original, engrossed on parchment, under the signature of Governor Dudley, with the Colony seal appendant, and in the custody of the President of Harvard College.]

No. IV. (p. 10.)

An Appendix to the College Charter, granted by an Act of the General Court of the Colony, passed anno 1657.

At a General Court held at Boston the 14th of Oct. 1657.

IN answer to certain proposals, presented to this Court by the Overseers of Harvard College, as an appendix to the College Charter it is ordered, The Corporation shall have power, from time to time, to make such orders and by-laws, for the better ordering, and carrying on of the work of the College, as they shall see cause, without dependence upon the consent of the Overseers foregoing. Provided always, that the Corporation shall be responsible unto, and those orders and by-laws shall be alterable by, the Overseers according to their discretion.

And when the Corporation shall hold a meeting for agreeing with College servants; for making of orders and by-laws; for debating and concluding of affairs, concerning the profits and revenues of any lands, or gifts, and the disposing thereof, (provided that all the said disposals be according to the will of the donors); for managing of all emergent occasions, for the procuring of a general meeting of the Overseers and Society, in great and difficult cases, and in cases of non-agreement; and for all other College affairs to them pertaining, — in all these cases the conclusion shall be valid, being made by the major part of the Corporation, the President having a casting vote. Provided always, that in these things also, they be responsible to the Overseers, as aforesaid.

And in case the Corporation shall see cause to call a meeting of the Overseers, or the Overseers shall see good to meet of themselves, it shall be sufficient unto the validity of College acts, that notice be given to the Overseers, in the six towns mentioned in the printed law, anno 1642, when the rest of the Overseers, by reason of the remoteness of their habitations, cannot conveniently be acquainted therewith.

No. V. (p. 12.)

WORTHY SIR, — Being informed that there is a part of the goods that be come over (in the late ships) that belonged to the College, therefore being unwilling to trouble the whole Court with the business, I thought it sufficient to acquaint you with my mind, so much rather because you have received in my accounts for the last year, and may when you please (on two days' warning) for this year, since the beginning of 8.ber, 1642, to the same, 1643. Now two things do I desire; the first, that what is coming to the College may be paid me in kind, for the last year's rate which was given me, besides all the delays and over-prevailing entreaties of some poor neighbours that thought themselves overcharged, and so have got partly some releases, and many whole forbearance even to this day. This inconvenience hath been distractive, that I was to receive it at so many men's hands; and albeit the constables should have saved me this labour, yet our neighbours, knowing I should receive it inevitably, appealed from them to myself. Yea, also, that gross sum of £40, that was to be paid from one man, hath not; nor indeed could it be paid without distraction to myself in accounts, and turnings over; and unwillingness in some to receive there, with some words of complaint as if their expectation were not answered in that which they received, wherein they in a sort both blamed myself, because they received not satisfaction at my hands immediately, and him from whom they had it, though both of us causelessly. Therefore, my first desire is, that the College may have its due in kind, if this may be no offence; else I submit.

The second thing is this, that you would be pleased to inform those whom it may concern, that hitherto, with all conscionable and diligent providence that I could, have I disburst and expended whatever hath come to hand in mere buildings for the house; and seeing that now that work in this house will draw to a period (though haply £30 will not fully finish it yet) I desire to know whether the country will allow me any personal interest in any of the said goods, for and in consideration of the

abatements that I have suffered, from £60 to £50, from £50 to £45, from £45 to £30, which is now my rent from the ferry, and you know in what manner in my family charged, and by my tenants discharged. I was and am willing, considering the poverty of the country, to descend to the lowest step, if there can be nothing comfortably allowed me; I still sit down appeased, desiring no more but what may supply me and mine with food and raiment, (and to give every one their own) to the furtherance of the success of our labors for the good of Church and Commonwealth, without distraction in the work whereunto I am called, and, by God's great mercy and goodness, cheerfully therein abide; desiring your prayers for a continuance, and your praises to God for the sanctifying of all the passages of his fatherly providence towards

Your loving and much bounden

HENRIE DUNSTER.

Cambr. 7 bris, 18th, 1643.

This letter was undoubtedly to Governor WINTHROP.

[*Mass. Hist. Coll. X, pp. 187, 188, Second Series.*]

1712, July 29th. The Honourable Judge Sewall presented the President, from Mr. Secretary, the following extract out of the Country Records. — “At a session of the General Court, 27th of 8th month, 1647.

“1. In answer to Mr. Dunster's petition, — First, we find due from the country to the College, out of that which was given by several donors in England, one hundred thirty-three pounds.

“2. There is supposed to be due to the College upon the country's gift, one hundred ninety pounds sixteen shillings.

“3. We find due to the College in relation to the President having fallen short so much of that which he should have received annually from the country, fifty-six pounds.

“4. We conceive it reasonable that there should be £50 taken out of the £190 16s. and payed to Mr. Davison, according as the President doth desire.

“5. We conceive it most convenient that what doth now appear to be due from the country to the College, that it be forthwith paid to the College, or otherwise to allow not exceeding eight per cent. to the College, so long as it lyes in the hands of the country. Lastly, we conceive it very necessary that such as study Physick or Chirurgy, may have liberty to

read Anatomy, and to anatomize, once in four years, some malefactor, in case there be such as the Court shall allow of.

“ At the within session of the General Court, upon the petition of Nicholas Davison for the hundred pounds due to Mrs. Glover, it is ordered the hundred pounds should be paid him, and when it is paid, assurance must be taken of Mr. Davison of the College to the country's use, and Mr. Peters is to pay fifty pounds to the College.”

The Lady Moulson gave towards the abovesaid Colledge one hundred pounds and Mr. Bridges fifty pounds, which was paid unto the Country Treasurer, with other small gifts, amounting to twelve pounds sixteen shillings and a groat. — The whole amounting to £162 16s. and a groat, for which the country doth remain debtor to this day, and for the same they have annually allow'd to the Colledge fifteen pounds, commencing from the year 1648.

Nothing received since the year 1684.

[*Donation Book*, I. p. 2.]

No. VI. (pp. 6, 7.)

1. THIS yeare the reverend and judicious M. Jos. Glover undertook this long voyage, being able both in person and estate for the work he provided, for further compleating the Colonies in Church and Commonwealth work, a printer, which hath been very usefull in many respects.

This yeare, although the estates of these pilgrim people were much wasted, yet seeing the benefit that would accrew to the Churches of Christ and civil government, by the Lord's blessing upon learning, they began to erect a Colledge, the Lord by his provident hand giving his approbation to the work, in sending over a faithfull and godly servant of his, the reverend Mr. John Harverd, who joyning with the people of Christ at Charles Towne, suddainly after departed this life, and gave near a thousand pound toward this work ; wherefore the government thought it meet to call it *Harverd* Colledge in remembrance of him.—[*Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence*, pp. 129, 133. London, 1654. Republished in Mass. Hist. Coll. II. p. 49, Second Series.]

2. Toward the latter end of this summer came over the learned, reverend, and judicious Mr. Henry Dunster, before whose coming the Lord was pleased to provide a patron for erecting a Colledg, as you have formerly heard, his provident hand being now no less powerful in pointing out with his unerring finger, a President abundantly fitted this his servant, and sent him over for to mannage the work ; and as in all the other passages of this history, the Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour hath appeared, so more especially in this work, the fountains of learning being in a great measure stopped in our native country at this time, so that the sweet waters of Shilo's streams must ordinarily pass into the Churches through the stinking channel of prelatical pride, beside all the filth that the fountains themselves were daily incumbred withall, insomuch that the Lord turned aside often from them, and refused the breathings of his blessed Spirit among them, which

caused Satan (in these latter daies of his transformation into an angel of light) to make it a means to perswade people from the use of learning altogether, that so in the next generation they might be destitute of such helps, as the Lord hath been pleased hitherto to make use of, as chief means for the conversion of his people, and building them up in the holy faith, as also for breaking downe the kingdom of Antichrist ; and verily had not the Lord been pleased to furnish New England with means for the attainment of learning, the work would have been carried on very heavily, and the hearts of godly parents would have vanish'd away, with heaviness for their poor children, whom they must have left in a desolate wilderness, destitute of the meanes of grace.

It being a work (in the apprehension of all, whose capacity could reach to the great sums of money, the edifice of a mean Colledg would cost) past the reach of a poor pilgrim people, who had expended the greatest part of their estates on a long voyage, travelling into forraign countryes, being unprofitable to any that have undertaken it, although it were but with their necessary attendance, whereas this people were forced to travel with wives, children, and servants ; besides they considered the treble charge of building in this new populated desart, in regard of al kind of workmanship, knowing likewise, that young students could make but a poor progress in learning, by looking on the bare walls of their chambers, and that Diogenes would have the better of them by far, in making use of a tun to lodg in, not being ignorant also, that many people in this age are out of conceit with learning, and that although they were not among a people who counted ignorance the mother of devotion, yet were the greater part of the people wholly devoted to the plow, (but to speak uprightly, hunger is sharp, and the head will retain little learning, if the heart be not refreshed in some competent measure with food, although the gross vapors of a gluttoned stomack are the bane of a bright understanding, and brings barrenness to the brain), but how to have both go on together, as yet they know not ; amidst all these difficulties, it was thought meet learning should plead for itself, and (as many other men of good rank and quality in this barren desart) plod out a way to live : Hereupon all those who had tasted the sweet wine of wisdoms drawing, and fed on the dainties of knowledg, began to set their wits a work, and verily as the

whole progress of this work had a farther dependency than on the present eyed means, so at this time chiefly the end being firmly fixed on a sure foundation, namely, the glory of God, and good of all his elect people, the world throughout, in vindicating the truths of Christ, and promoting his glorious kingdom, who is now taking the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession, means they know there are, many thousands uneyed of mortal man, which every daies Providence brings forth; upon these resolutions, to work they go, and with thankful acknowledgment, readily take up all lawful means as they come to hand, for place they fix their eye upon New-Town, which to tell their posterity whence they came, is now named Cambridg, and withal to make the whole world understand, that spiritual learning was the thing they chiefly desired, to sanctifie the other, and make the whole lump holy, and that learning being set upon its right object, might not contend for error instead of truth; they chose this place, being then under the Orthodox, and soul-flourishing Ministry of Mr. Thomas Shepheard, of whom it may be said, without any wrong to others, the Lord by his Ministry hath saved many a hundred soul: The scituation of this Colledg is very pleasant, at the end of a spacious plain, more like a bowling green, than a wilderness, neer a fair navigable river, environed with many neighbouring towns of note, being so neer, that their houses joyn with her suburbs, the building thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness, and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a Colledg, it is at present enlarging by purchase of the neighbour houses, it hath the conveniencies of a fair Hall, comfortable studies, and a good Library, given by the liberal hand of some magistrates and ministers, with others: The chief gift towards the founding of this Colledg, was by Mr. John Harnes, a reverend minister, the country being very weak in their publike Treasury, expended about £500 towards it, and for the maintenance thereof, gave the yearly revenue of a ferry passage between Boston and Charles Town, the which amounts to about 40 or £50 per annum. The Commissioners of the four united Colonies, also, taking into consideration, (of what common concernment this work would be, not only to the whole plantations in general, but also to all our English nation) they endeavoured to stir up all the people in the several Colonies to make a yearly contribution toward it, which by some

is observed, but by the most very much neglected ; the government hath endeavoured to grant them all the priviledges fit for a Colledg, and accordingly the Governour and Magistrates, together with the President of the Colledg, for the time being, have a continual care of ordering all matters for the good of the whole : This Colledg hath brought forth, and nurst up very hopeful plants, to the supplying some Churches here, as the gracious and godly Mr. Wilson, son to the grave and zealous servant of Christ, Mr. John Wilson ; this young man is Pastor to the Church of Christ at Dorchester ; as also Mr. Buckly, son to the reverend Mr. Buckly of Concord ; as also a second son of his, whom our native country hath now at present help in the ministry, and the other is over a people of Christ in one of these Colonies, and if I mistake not, England hath I hope not only this young man of New England nurturing up in learning, but many more, as M. Samuel and Nathanael Mathers, Mr. Wells, Mr. Downing, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Allin, Mr. Bruster, Mr. William Ames, Mr. Iones : Another of the first fruits of this Colledg is imployed in these western parts in Mavis, one of the Summer Islands ; beside these named, some help hath been had from hence in the study of Physick, as also the godly Mr. Samuel Danforth, who hath not only studied Divinity, but also Astronomy, he put forth many almanacks, and is now called to the office of a teaching Elder in the Church of Christ at Roxbury, who was one of the fellows of this Colledg ; the number of students is much encreased of late, so that the present year, 1651, on the twelfth of the sixth moneth, ten of them took the degree of Batchelors of Art, among whom the sea-born son of Mr. Iohn Cotton was one. Some gentlemen have sent their sons hither from England, who are to be commended for their care of them, as the judicious and godly Doctor Ames, and divers others : This hath been a place certainly more free from temptations to lewdness, than ordinarily England hath been, yet if men shall presume upon this to send their most exorbitant children, intending them more especially for Gods service, the justice of God doth sometimes meet with them, and the means doth more harden them in their way, for of late the godly Governors of this Colledg have been forced to expell some, for fear of corrupting the fountain.

Mr. Henry Dunster is now President of this Colledg, fitted from the Lord for the work, and by those that have skill that

way, reported to be an able proficient, in both Hebrew, Greek, and Latine languages, an Orthodox Preacher of the truths of Christ, very powerful through his blessing to move the affection ; and besides he having a good inspection into the well-ordering of things for the students maintenance (whose commons hath been very short hitherto) by his frugal providence hath continued them longer at their studies than otherwise they could have done ; and verily it's great pity such ripe heads as many of them be, should want means to further them in learning.

[*Ibid.* pp. 162–166, 168.]

No. VII. (p. 5.)

1. At Cambridge, master Sheppard Pastor, master Dunster Schoolmaster; divers young schollers are there under him to the number of almost twenty. — [*Leckford's Plaine Dealing*, p. 37. London, 1642. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Coll. III. p. 55, Third Series.]

2. Master Henry Dunster, Schoolmaster of Cambridge, deserves commendations above many; he hath the platforme and way of conversion of the natives, indifferent right, and much studies the same, wherein yet he wants not opposition, as some other also have met with: He will, without doubt, prove an instrument of much good in the countrey, being a good scholar, and having skil in the tongues; He will make it good, that the way to iustruct the Indians, must be in their *owne* language, not *English*; and that their language may be perfected.

[*Ibid.* pp. 52, 53.]

(p. 18.)

3. At New Plymouth they have but one Minister, master Rayner; yet master Chancey lives there, and one master Smith, both Ministers, they are not in any office there; master Chancey stands for dipping in baptisme onely necessary, and some other things, concerning which there hath been much dispute, and master Chancey put to the worst by the opinion of the Churches advised withall. — [*Ibid.* p. 40.]

No. VIII. (p. 101.)

1. EDWARD HOPKINS was son-in-law of Governour Eaton, and, alternately with Haynes, for many years, Governour of the colony of Connecticut, in which station Eliot erroneously asserts he died. He went to England, probably in 1652, whence he did not return; though, after the decease of Haynes, he was again chosen Governour, in 1654. The time of his death was March, 1657, a few months before his friend Eaton. He was then serving in parliament, and also as a commissioner of the army and navy. His liberality to New England was abundantly shown in his will, made seventh or seventeenth March, 1656-7. Extracts will interest the present age: "For my estate in New England, (the full account of which I left clear in book there, and the care and inspection whereof was committed to my loving friend, Captain John Cullick,) I do in this manner dispose: Item, I do give and bequeath unto the eldest child of Mrs. Mary Newton, wife to Mr. Roger Newton of Farmington, and daughter to Mr. Thomas Hooker, deceased, the sum of £30; as also the sum of £30 unto the eldest child of Mr. John Cullick by Elizabeth his present wife. Item, I do give and bequeath to Mrs. Sarah Wilson, the wife of Mr. John Wilson, preacher of the gospel, and daughter of my dear pastor, Mr. Hooker, my farm at Farmington, with all the houses, out-houses, buildings, lands, &c. belonging thereunto, to the use of her and the heirs of her body for ever. I do also give unto Mrs. Susan Hooker, the relict of Mr. Thomas Hooker, all such debts as are due to me from her, upon the account I left in New England. And the residue of my estate there I do hereby give and bequeath to my father, Theophilus Eaton, Esq. Mr. John Davenport, Mr. John Cullick, and Mr. William Goodwin, in full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it according to the true intent and purpose of me the said Edward Hopkins, which is, to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths, both at the grammar school and College, for the publick service of the country in future times. For the estate the Lord hath given me in *this* England, I thus dispose, and my wish is, that £150 per annum be yearly paid per my executor to Mr. David Yale, brother to my dear

distressed wife, for her comfortable maintenance, and to be disposed of per him for her good, she not being in a condition fit to manage it herself; and I do heartily entreat him to be careful and tender over her; and my will is, that this be paid quarterly by £37 10s each quarter, and to continue to the end of the quarter, after the death of my said wife, and that my executor give good security for a punctual performance hereof. My will also is, that the £30 given me per the will and testament of my brother Henry Hopkins, lately deceased, be given to our sister Mrs. Judith [unknown], during her natural life, and that it be made up £50 per annum during her life. I do give to my sister Mrs. Margaret Thomson the sum of £50, to be paid her within one year after my decease. I do give unto my nephew Henry Thomson £800, whereof £400 to be paid within sixteen months after my decease, and the other £400 within six months after the decease of my wife. I do likewise give and bequeath to my niece Katherine Thomson, but now Katherine James, (over and above the portion of £500 formerly given her,) £100. I do also give and bequeath unto my nieces, Elizabeth and Patience Dalley, unto each of them, £200, provided they attend the direction of their brother or aunts, or such as are capable to give them advice in the dispose of themselves in marriage. I give unto my brother, Mr. David Yale, £200; to my brother, Mr. Thomas Yale, £200, and to my sister, Mrs. Hannah Eaton, £200. My farther mind and will is, that, within six months after the decease of my wife, £500 be made over into New England, according to the advice of my loving friends, Major Robert Thomson and Mr. Francis Willoughby, and conveyed into the hands of the Trustees before mentioned, in farther prosecution of the aforesaid publick ends, which, in the simplicity of my heart, are for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in those parts of the earth. I do farther give unto my beloved wife a bed, with all furniture belonging unto it, for herself to lie on, and another for the servant maid that waits on her, and £20 in plate for her present use, besides one-third part of all my household goods. I give unto Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Mr. Cullick, each of them, £20, to be made over to them into New England where they are; and my will and pleasure is, that £20 be put into a piece of plate, and presented in my name to my honoured friend Dr. Wright, to whom I owe more

than that, being much engaged, desiring him to accept it only as a testimony of my respects. I do give unto my servant, James Porter, £10; unto my maid Margaret £5; unto my maid Mary £2. I do give unto my honored and loving friends, Major Robert Thompson and Mr. Francis Willoughby, £20 a-piece, in a piece of plate, as a token of my respects unto them; and I do give unto my servant, Thomas Haytor, £20. I do give unto my sister Yale, the wife of Mr. David Yale, £20; as also to John Lollor, a youth now with my sister Eve, £20, to farther him out to be an apprentice to some good trade, and £20 more at the time of his coming to his own liberty, to encourage him to set up his trade, if he continue living so long. I do give unto my nephew Henry Dalley, Master of Arts in Cambridge, my land in the county of Essex; and, for the payment of all debts, dues, and legacies, do give unto him all my personal estate, and, by these presents, renouncing and making void all other wills and testaments, do declare, constitute, and make him my sole executor, and my good friends, Major Robert Thomson, and Mr. Francis Willoughby, Overseers, of this my last will and testament. Signed, sealed, declared, and published by the said Edward Hopkins, Esq. at his house at London, on the 17th day of March in the year of our Lord 1657, to be his last will and testament."

Mention of the distress of his wife, named Ann, which was by loss of her reason, will occur in our second volume. She died 17th December, 1698. Trumbull, I. 233, says, Hopkins's estate, "given in New England, was estimated at about £1000 sterling, and was appropriated to the support of the grammar schools in New Haven, Hartford, and Hadley. The money originally belonged to New Haven and Hartford; but as a considerable number of the people of Hartford afterwards removed to Hadley, and were principal settlers of that town, they received their proportion of the donation."

In six months after the wife's decease, which was above forty years later than the testator's, the £500 out of the English property should have been paid. But the executor and residuary devisee being dead, process in chancery was necessary against *his* executor. Under a final decree by Sir Simon Harcourt, lord keeper, Harvard College has enjoyed, jointly with the grammar school in Cambridge, since 1714, a fund, of which Governor Dudley and other principal persons, civil, and eccle.

siastical, to the number of twenty-one, were made first Trustees. As the direction from the chancery was to invest the same in lands, a purchase was made, under authority of an act of the province, from the Natick Indians, being about thirteen thousand acres, comprising, with an additional grant from the province, the flourishing town of Hopkinton, in Middlesex county, — having its name from this liberal benefactor of New England, — and part of the town of Upton in the county of Worcester. The rent charge of these lands, for many years secured by the Commonwealth, amounted to \$222,22 annually, until March, 1823, and from thence forward, forever \$666,67 annually, being at the rate of one penny sterling per acre for the first ninety-nine years of the leases, and three pence sterling afterwards. Being one of the Trustees, the editor knows the faithful and judicious employment of this charity. The fund, which, notwithstanding the evils of paper money, and occasional injurious denial of rent by some of the tenants, has been increased, now exceeds the sum of \$18,000, besides the original investment.

Several letters of Governor Hopkins to John Winthrop, Jr. are preserved in volume XIX. of Trumbull's manuscripts, and there is one to our author, 21st June, 1648, printed in Hutchinson's Collection, 225, showing a disposition to return to England, controlled by affection towards his adopted country. It is written with more perspicuity than is usually found in papers of that age.— [*Note to Winthrop's Journal, by Mr. Savage, I. pp. 228 – 230.*]

2. I presume Jenner [the Rev. Thomas] went home to England; for, in Hazard II. 78, a letter of Edward Winslow, London, 17th April, 1651, speaks of a purchase of his Library for Harvard College, he being poor, and then living in Norfolk.
[*Ibid.* p. 251.]

(p. 3.)

3. 3d mo. 2d. 1638.— This Court the name of Newtown was altered, and it was called Cambridge.— [*Ibid.* p. 265.] On which the learned editor has this note: — In compliment to the place where so many of the civil and clerical fathers of New

England had received their education, this venerable name (may it ever be preserved!) was undoubtedly bestowed. There were probably, at that time, forty or fifty sons of the University of Cambridge, in Old England, — one for every two hundred or two hundred and fifty inhabitants, — dwelling in the few villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The sons of Oxford were not few.

(p. 5.)

4. At the General Court at Boston, one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, brother to the merchant at Quilipiack, was convented and censured. The occasion was this: He was a schoolmaster, and had many scholars, the sons of gentlemen and others of best note in the country, and had entertained one Nathaniel Briscoe, a gentleman born, to be his usher, and to do some other things for him, which might not be unfit for a scholar. He had not been with him above three days but he fell out with him for a very small occasion, and, with reproachful terms, discharged him, and turned him out of his doors; but, it being then about eight of the clock after the Sabbath, he told him he should stay till next morning, and, some words growing between them, he struck him and pulled him into his house. Briscoe defended himself, and closed with him, and, being parted, he came in and went up to his chamber to lodge there. Mr. Eaton sent for the constable, who advised him first to admonish him, &c. and if he could not, by the power of a master, reform him, then he should complain to the magistrate. But he caused his man to fetch him a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yard in length, and, taking his two men with him, he went up to Briscoe, and caused his men to hold him till he had given him two hundred stripes about the head and shoulders, &c, and so kept him under blows (with some two or three short intermissions) about the space of two hours, about which time Mr. Shepherd and some others of the town came in at the outcry, and so he gave over. In this distress Briscoe gate out his knife, and struck at the man that held him, but hurt him not. He also fell to prayer, (supposing he should have been murdered,) and then Mr. Eaton beat him for taking the name of God in vain. After this Mr.

Eaton and Mr. Shepherd (who knew not then of these passages) came to the Governour and some other of the magistrates, complaining of Briscoe for his insolent speeches, and for crying out murder and drawing his knife, and desired that he might be enjoined to a public acknowledgment, &c. The magistrates answered, that they must first hear him speak, and then they would do as they should see cause. Mr. Eaton was displeased at this, and went away discontented, &c. and, being after called into the court to make answer to the information, which had been given by some who knew the truth of the case, and also to answer for his neglect and cruelty, and other ill usage towards his scholars, one of the elders (not suspecting such miscarriages by him) came to the Governour, and showed himself much grieved, that he should be publickly produced, alledging, that it would derogate from his authority and reverence among his scholars, &c. But the cause went on notwithstanding, and he was called, and these things laid to his charge in the open court. His answers were full of pride and disdain, telling the magistrates that they should not need to do any thing herein, for he was intended to leave his employment. And being asked, why he used such cruelty to Briscoe his usher, and to other his scholars, (for it was testified by another of his ushers and divers of his scholars, that he would give them between twenty and thirty stripes at a time, and would not leave till they had confessed what he required,) his answer was, that he had this rule, that he would not give over correcting till he had subdued the party to his will. Being also questioned about the ill and scant diet of his boarders, (for, though their friends gave large allowance, yet their diet was ordinarily nothing but porridge and pudding, and that very homely), he put it off to his wife. So the Court dismissed him at present, and commanded him to attend again the next day, when, being called, he was commanded to the lower end of the table (where all offenders do usually stand), and, being openly convict of all the former offences, by the oaths of four or five witnesses, he yet continued to justify himself; so, it being near night, he was committed to the marshal till the next day. When the Court was set in the morning, many of the elders came into the Court (it being then private for matter of consultation), and declared how, the evening before, they had taken pains with him, to convince him of his faults; yet, for divers hours, he had still stood to his justi-

fication ; but, in the end, he was convinced, and had freely and fully acknowledged his sin, and that with tears ; so as they did hope he had truly repented, and therefore desired of the Court, that he might be pardoned, and continued in his employment, alledging such further reasons as they thought fit. After the elders were departed, the Court consulted about it, and sent for him, and there, in the open Court, before a great assembly, he made a very solid, wise, eloquent, and serious (seeming) confession, condemning himself in all the particulars, &c. Whereupon, being put aside, the Court consulted privately about his sentence, and, though many were taken with his confession, and none but had a charitable opinion of it ; yet, because of the scandal of religion, and offence which would be given to such as might intend to send their children hither, they all agreed to censure him, and put him from that employment. So, being called in, the Governor, after a short preface, &c. declared the sentence of the Court to this effect, viz. that he should give Briscoe £30, fined 100 marks, and debarred teaching of children within our jurisdiction. A pause being made, and expectation that (according to his former confession) he would have given glory to God, and acknowledged the justice and clemency of the Court, the Governor giving him occasion, by asking him if he had ought to say, he turned away with a discontented look, saying, " If sentence be passed, then it is to no end to speak." Yet the Court remitted his fine to £20, and willed Briscoe to take but £20.

The church at Cambridge, taking notice of these proceedings, intended to deal with him. The pastor moved the Governor, if they might, without offence to the Court, examine other witnesses. His answer was, that the Court would leave them to their own liberty ; but he saw not to what end they should do it, seeing there had been five already upon oath, and those whom they should examine should speak without oath, and it was an ordinance of God, that by the mouths of two or three witnesses every matter should be established. But he soon discovered himself ; for, ere the church could come to deal with him, he fled to Pascataquack, and, being pursued and apprehended by the Governour there, he again acknowledged his great sin in flying, &c. and promised (as he was a Christian man) he would return with the messengers. But, because his things he carried with him were aboard a bark there, bound to Virginia, he desired

leave to go fetch them, which they assented unto, and went with him (three of them) aboard with him. So he took his truss and came away with them in the boat; but, being come to the shore, and two of them going out of the boat, he caused the boatsmen to put off the boat, and, because the third man would not go out, he turned him into the water, where he had been drowned, if he had not saved himself by swimming. So he returned to the bark, and presently they set sail and went out of the harbour. Being thus gone, his creditors began to complain; and thereupon it was found, that he was run in debt about £1000, and had taken up most of this money upon bills he had charged into England upon his brother's agents, and others whom he had no such relation to. So his estate was seized, and put into Commissioners' hands, to be divided among his creditors, allowing somewhat for the present maintenance of his wife and children. And, being thus gone, the church proceeded and cast him out. He had been sometimes initiated among the Jesuits, and, coming into England, his friends drew him from them, but, it was very probable, he now intended to return to them again, being at this time about thirty years of age, and upwards. — [*Ibid.* 308 – 313.]

On the above narrative of Winthrop, his learned and indefatigable editor has furnished the reader with the following curious and interesting note respecting the lady there mentioned, Mrs. Eaton:

An examination of the lady followed, I presume, for the former Secretary of the Commonwealth furnished me a paper, which can hardly refer to any other transaction than this. Some Overseer of the College, probably, either magistrate or clergyman, wrote it from the confession or dictation of the accused party: "For their breakfast, that it was not so well ordered, the flower not so fine as it might, nor so well boiled or stirred, at all times that it was so, it was my sin of neglect, and want of that care that ought to have been in one that the Lord had intrusted with such a work. Concerning their beef, that was allowed them, as they affirm, which, I confess, had been my duty to have seen they should have had it, and continued to have had it, because it was my husband's command; but truly I must confess, to my shame, I cannot remember that ever they had it, nor that ever it was taken from them. And that they

had not so good or so much provision in my husband's absence as presence, I conceive it was, because he would call sometimes for butter or cheese, when I conceived there was no need of it; yet, forasmuch as the scholars did otherways apprehend, I desire to see the evil that was in the carriage of that as well as in the other, and to take shame to myself for it. And that they sent down for more, when they had not enough, and the maid should answer, if they had not, they should not, I must confess, that I have denied them cheese, when they have sent for it, and it have been in the house; for which I shall humbly beg pardon of them, and own the shame, and confess my sin. And for such provoking words, which my servants have given, I cannot own them, but am sorry any such should be given in my house. And for bad fish, that they had it brought to table, I am sorry there was that cause of offence given them. I acknowledge my sin in it. And for their mackerel, brought to them with their guts in them, and goat's dung in their hasty pudding, its utterly unknown to me; but I am much ashamed it should be in the family, and not prevented by myself or servants, and I humbly acknowledge my negligence in it. And that they made their beds at any time, were my straits never so great, I am sorry they were ever put to it. For the Moor, his lying in Samuel Hough's sheet and pillow-bier, it hath a truth in it: he did so one time, and it gave Samuel Hough just cause of offence; and that it was not prevented by my care and watchfulness, I desire [to] take the shame and the sorrow for it. And that they eat the Moor's crusts, and the swine and they had share and share alike, and the Moor to have beer, and they denied it, and if they had not enough, for my maid to answer, they should not, I am an utter stranger to these things, and know not the least footsteps for them so to charge me; and if my servants were guilty of such miscarriages, had the boarders complained of it unto myself, I should have thought it my sin, if I had not sharply reproved my servants, and endeavoured reform. And for bread made of heated, sour meal, although I know of but once that it was so, since I kept house, yet John Wilson affirms it was twice; and I am truly sorry, that any of it was spent amongst them. For beer and bread, that it was denied them by me betwixt meals, truly I do not remember, that ever I did deny it unto them; and John Wilson will affirm, that, generally, the bread and beer was free for the boarders to go unto. And that

money was demanded of them for washing the linen, it's true it was propounded to them, but never imposed upon them. And for their pudding being given the last day of the week without butter or suet, and that I said, it was miln of Manchester in Old England, its true that I did say so, and am sorry they had any cause of offence given them by having it so. And for their wanting beer, betwixt brewings, a week or half a week together, I am sorry that it was so at any time, and should tremble to have it so, were it in my hands to do again."

The above is an exact copy of all that is written by that hand ; but on the next page is found, in a more difficult, but uncommonly beautiful chirography, "and whereas they say, that sometimes they have sent down for more meat, and it hath been denied, when it have been in the house, I must confess, to my shame, that I have denied them oft, when they have sent for it, and it have been in the house."

In the archives of the State House it is not probable that any document more minute or entertaining can be preserved ; nor would this seem of importance and gravity appropriate to this work, were it not connected with the history of the College, and highly illustrative of our author's text. That no complaints against Mrs. Eaton had been brought down from antiquity, when her husband suffered perpetual malediction, is perhaps owing to the gallantry of our fathers. Her accomplishments as a housewife appear equal to the gentleness of the head of the College. Her adherence to the religion in which she was educated, might have been as frail as his, had she not been lost on a voyage with her children to Virginia the next year. The commons of the students have often been matter of complaint, but, I believe, have never since occupied the attention of the government of the State.

Of the two young men referred to by Mrs. Eaton, Wilson was son of the pastor of Boston, graduated in the first class, 1642, and, Mather says, "continued, unto old age, a faithful, painful, useful minister of the gospel" in Medfield. Hough was, probably son of Atherton, the assistant, and was the second minister of Reading. Why he received not the usual degree is unknown. See Johnson, lib. II. c. 25. In our Town Records I find, "Mr. Samuel Haugh, pastor of the church at Reading, deceased at Mr. Hezekiah Usher's house in Boston, 30th March, 1662." The Moor was probably a slave. — [*Ibid.* pp. 310, 311, note.]

Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, of whom mention is made before, being come to Virginia, took upon him to be a minister, but was given up of God to extreme pride and sensuality, being usually drunken, as the custom is there. He sent for his wife and children. Her friends here persuaded her to stay a while, but she went notwithstanding, and the vessel was never heard of after. — [*Ibid.* II. p. 22.]

While these things were a doing, a Society of scholars, to lodge in the New Nests, were forming under the conduct of one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton (or, if thou wilt, Reader, Orbilius Eaton), a blade, who marvellously deceived the expectations of good men concerning him; for he was one fitter to be master of a Bridewel than a Colledge: And though his avarice was notorious, enough to get the name of a Philargyrius fixed upon him, yet his cruelty was more scandalous than his avarice. He was a rare scholar himself, and he made many more such; but their education truly was in the School of Tyrannus. Among many other instances of his cruelty, he gave one in causing two men to hold a young gentleman, while he so unmercifully beat him with a cudgel, that upon complaint of it, unto the Court in September, 1639, he was fined an hundred marks, besides a convenient sum to be paid unto the young gentleman that had suffered by his unmercifulness; and for his inhumane severities towards the scholars, he was removed from his trust. After this, being first excommunicated by the church of Cambridge, he did himself excommunicate all our churches, going first into Virginia, then into England, where he lived privately until the restauration of king Charles II. Then conforming to the ceremonies of the Church of England, he was fixed at Biddiford, where he became (as *Apostata est Osor sui Ordinis*) a bitter persecutor of the Christians, that kept faithful to the way of worship, from which he was himself an apostate; until he who had cast so many into prison for conscience, was himself cast into prison for debt; where he did, at length, pay one debt, namely, that unto nature, by death. — [*Mather's Magnalia*, B. IV. pp. 126, 127.]

It was said that he [Eaton] had been initiated among the Jesuits, though he was sent over into Holland for the sake of Doctor Ames; but having that opportunity, he might easily acquaint himself with the other, and from thence receive those

principles of avarice, pride, and cruelty which here he began to practise. — [*Hubbard's Hist. New England*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll. V. p. 247*, Second Series.]

(p. 18.)

5. Our neighbours of Plimouth had procured from hence, this year, one Mr. Chancey,* a great scholar, and a godly man, intending to call him to the office of a Teacher; but, before the fit time came, he discovered his judgment about baptism, that the children ought to be dipped and not sprinkled; and, he being an active man, and very vehement, there arose much trouble about it. The magistrates and the other elders there, and the most of the people, withstood the receiving of that practice, not for itself so much, as for fear of worse consequences, as the annihilating our baptism, &c. Whereupon the church there wrote to all the other churches, both here and at Connecticut, &c. for advice, and sent Mr. Chancey's arguments. The churches took them into consideration, and returned their several answers, wherein they showed their dissent from him, and clearly confuted all his arguments, discovering withal some great mistakes of his about the judgment and practice of anti-

* An excuse for neglecting great labor of inquiry about this celebrated scholar, who, after the honor conferred on him of two professorships by his *alma mater*, the University of Cambridge in England, became head of our own College, is afforded by the elaborate biography, written by a descendant of great name preserved in 1 *Hist. Coll. X. 171*. Perhaps, however, the ancestor's doctrines are a little softened in that tract. He was of Trinity College. Mather mentions his verses on the death of Queen Ann, 1619. I have seen, in the Boston Athenæum, the *Cantabrigiensium Dolor et Solamen*, on the death of James and accession of Charles. 1625, containing his Greek and Latin verses, signed Car. Chauncy, *Coll. Trin. Bac. Theol.* His two unimportant opinions, relative to the time of celebrating the eucharist, and the mode of baptism, were no obstacles to his advancement, even in that age of narrow and scrupulous formality. It is a little remarkable, that the two first Presidents of Harvard College adopted opinions on the form of baptism adverse to that of all the other divines and laicks of the colony.

quity.* Yet he would not give over his opinion ; and the church of Plimouth (though they could not agree to call him to office, yet) being much taken with his able parts, they were very loath to part with him. He did maintain, also, that the Lord's supper ought to be administered in the evening, and every Lord's day ; and the church at Sandwich (where one Mr. Leveridge was minister) fell into the practice of it ; but that being a matter of no great ill consequence, save some outward inconvenience, there was little stir about it. This Mr. Chancey was after called to office in the church of Scituate.—[*Winthrop's Journal*, by Mr. Savage, I. pp. 330, 331.]

(p. 9.)

6. Nine Bachelors commenced at Cambridge ; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts, so as to give good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. The General Court had settled a government or superintendency over the College, viz. all the magistrates and elders over the six nearest churches and the President, or the greatest part of these. Most of them were now present at this first Commencement, and dined at the College with the scholars' ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students' encouragement, &c. and it gave good content to all.

* If nothing of greater value than these answers of the churches, were lost by us, we should less regret the extent of our ignorance of the thoughts and actions of our fathers. From Keayne's manuscript it appears, that answer by Boston church was made, 21st June, to a question and desire from the church of Plimouth, "whether it be lawful to use sprinkling in baptism, or rather dipping ; Mr. Chauncy being of the mind, that it is a violation of an ordinance to use sprinkling instead of dipping." In the illustrious descendant's Life of his ancestor, there may be some mistake on this point. Yet an equal error is, perhaps, discernible in the text, as to the confutation, and finding mistakes about "the judgment and practice of antiquity." Fortunately, it is a matter, on which little depends ; and the churches here would do wisely to allow, as a large part of the Antipædobaptists in England are liberal enough to do, that the substance of Christianity is of infinitely higher importance than this form of expressing our devotion to it, and that a controversy, which cannot be settled, had better be dropped.

At this Commencement, complaint was made to the Governors of two young men, of good quality, lately come out of England, for foul misbehavior, in swearing and ribaldry speeches, &c. for which, though they were adulti, they were corrected in the College, and sequestered, &c. for a time.

[*Ibid.* II pp. 87, 88.]

(p. 9.)

7. There was an assembly at Cambridge of all the elders in the country (about fifty in all), such of the ruling elders as would, were present also, but none else. They sat in the College, and had their diet there after the manner of scholars' commons, but somewhat better, yet so ordered as it came not to above sixpence the meal for a person. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker were chosen moderators. The principal occasion was because some of the elders went about to set up some things according to the presbytery, as of Newbury, &c. The assembly concluded against some parts of the presbyterial way, and the Newbury ministers took time to consider the arguments, &c.

[*Ibid.* pp. 136, 137.]

(p. 9.)

8. 10mo. 27th, 1643. — By order of the General Court all the magistrates and the teaching elders of the six nearest churches were appointed to be forever Governors of the College, and this day they met at Cambridge and considered of the officers of the College, and chose a Treasurer, H. Pelham, Esq. being the first in that office. — [*Ibid.* p. 150.]

(p. 5.)

9. Mr. Shepherd, the pastor of the church in Cambridge, being at Connecticut when the Commissioners met there for the United Colonies, moved them for some contribution of help towards the maintenance of poor scholars in the College, wherupon the commissioners ordered that it should be commended to the deputies of the General Courts and the elders within the several

colonies, to raise (by way of voluntary contribution) one peck of corn or twelve pence money, or other commodity, of every family, which those of Connecticut presently performed.

Divers free schools were erected, as at Roxbury (for maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever) and at Boston (where they made an order to allow for ever fifty pounds to the master, and an house, and thirty pounds to an usher, who should also teach to read and write and cipher, and Indians' children were to be taught freely, and the charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused, &c. and this order was confirmed by the General Court [blank].) Other towus did the like, providing maintenance by several means.

By agreement of the commissioners, and the motions of the elders in their several churches, every family in each colony gave one peck of corn or twelve pence to the College at Cambridge.—[*Ibid.* pp. 214 – 216.]

No. IX. (p. 28.)

Moreover he [Eliot] took great care, that schools should be planted among the praying Indians; and he taught some himself to read, that they might be capable to teach others; and by his procurement, some of the choice Indian youth were put to school with English schoolmasters, to learn both the English, Latin, and Greek tongues.

There was much cost out of the Corporation stock expended in this work, for fitting and preparing the Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen. Their diet, apparel, books, and schooling, was chargeable. In truth the design was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died, after they had been sundry years at learning, and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost ready for the College. And some returned to live among their countrymen; where some of them are improved for schoolmasters and teachers, unto which they are advantaged by their education. Some others of them have entered upon other callings: as one is a mariner; another a carpenter; another went for England with a gentleman that lived sometimes at Cambridge in New England, named Mr. Drake, which Indian, as I hear, died there not many months after his arrival.

I remember but only two of them all, that lived in the College at Cambridge; the one named Joel, the other Caleb; both natives of Martha's Vineyard. These two were hopeful young men, especially Joel, being so ripe in learning, that he should, within a few months, have taken his first degree of Bachelor of Art in the College. He took a voyage to Martha's Vineyard to visit his father and kindred, a little before the Commencement; but upon his return back in a vessel, with other passengers and mariners, suffered shipwreck upon the island of Nantucket; where the bark was found put on shore; and in all probability the people in it came on shore alive, but afterwards were murdered by some wicked Indians of that place; who, for lucre of

the spoil in the vessel, which was laden with goods, thus cruelly destroyed the people in it; for which fault some of those Indians was convicted and executed afterwards. Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel. He was a good scholar and a pious man, as I judge. I knew him well; for he lived and was taught in the same town where I dwelt. I observed him for several years, after he was grown to years of discretion, to be not only a diligent student, but an attentive hearer of God's word; diligently writing the sermons, and frequenting lectures; grave and sober in his conversation.

The other called Caleb, not long after he took his degree of Bachelor of Art at Cambridge in New England, died of a consumption at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, who had inspection over him, under the care of a physician in order to his health; where he wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both of food and physick; but God denied the blessing, and put a period to his days.

Of this disease of the consumption sundry of those Indian youths died, that were bred up to school among the English. The truth is, this disease is frequent among the Indians; and sundry die of it, that live not with the English. A hectic fever, issuing in a consumption, is a common and mortal disease among them. I know some have apprehended other causes of the mortality of these Indian scholars. Some have attributed it unto the great change upon their bodies, in respect of their diet, lodging, apparel, studies; so much different from what they were inured to among their own countrymen. — [*Gookin's Hist. Coll.* in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* I. pp. 172, 173, First Series.]

One thing falls in here fitly to be spoken of, as a means intended for the good of the Indians; which was the erecting a house of brick at Cambridge, in New England, which passeth under the name of the Indian College. It is a structure strong and substantial, though not very capacious. It cost between three or four hundred pounds. It is large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars. It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the College. This house was built and finished at the charge, and by the appointment, of the Honourable Corporation for propagating the gospel in New England. — [*Ibid.* p. 176.]

No. X. (p. 11.)

IN the following year, Mr. Henry Dunster, the first President of Harvard College, ended his pilgrimage at Scituate, in Plymouth jurisdiction. His body was solemnly interred at Cambridge, where he had spent the choice part of his studies and of his life, and might there have continued, if he had been endowed with that wisdom which many others have wanted besides himself, to have kept his singular opinion to himself, when there was little occasion for venting thereof. — [*Hubbard's Hist. New England*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll. VI. p. 556, Second Series.*]

No. XI. (pp. 8, 9.)

1. WHEN scholars had so far profited at the grammar schools, that they could read any classical author into English, and readily make, and speak true Latin, and write it in verse as well as prose ; and perfectly decline the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, they were judged capable of admission in Harvard Colledge ; and upon the examination, were accordingly admitted by the President and Fellows ; who, in testimony thereof, signed a copy of the Colledge laws, which the scholars were each of them to transcribe and preserve, as the continual remembrancers of the duties, whereto their priviledges obliged them. While the President inspected the manners of the students thus entertained in the Colledge, and unto his morning and evening prayers in the hall, joined an exposition upon the chapters ; which they read out of Hebrew into Greek, from the Old Testament in the morning, and out of English into Greek, from the New Testament in the evening ; besides what sermons he saw cause to preach in publick assemblies on the Lord's day at Cambridge, where the students have a particular gallery allotted unto them ; the Fellows resident on the place, became Tutors to the several classes, and after they had instructed them in the Hebrew language, led them through all the liberal arts, ere their first four years expired. And in this time, they had their weekly declamations, on Fridays in the Colledge Hall, besides publick disputations, which either the Præsident or the Fellows moderated. Those who then stood candidates to be graduates, were to attend in the Hall for certain hours, on Mondays, and on Tuesdays, three weeks together towards the middle of June, which were called weeks of visitation ; so that all comers that pleased, might examine their skill in the languages and sciences, which they now pretended unto ; and usually, some or other of the Overseers of the Colledge, would on purpose visit them, whilst they were thus doing what they called, *sitting of solstices* : When the Commencement arrived, which was formerly the second Tuesday in August, but since, the first Wednesday in July ; they that were to proceed Bachelors, held their Act publicly in Cambridge ; whither the magistrates and ministers, and other gentlemen then came, to put respect upon their exercises : And these exercises were besides an oration usually made by the President

orations both salutatory and valedictory, made by some or other of the commencers, wherein all persons and orders of any fashion then present, were addressed with proper complements, and reflections were made on the most remarkable occurrents of the præceding year; and these orations were made not only in Latin, but sometimes in Greek and in Hebrew also; and some of them were in verse, and even in Greek verse, as well as others in Prose. But the main exercises were disputations upon questions, wherein the respondents first made their Theses: For according to Vossius, the very essence of the Baccalaureat seems to lye in the thing: Baccalaureus being but a name corrupted of Batualius, which Batualius (as well as the French Bataile) comes à Batuendo, a business that carries beating in it: So that, *Batualii fuerunt vocati, quia jam quasi batuissent cum adversario, ac manus conseruissent; hoc est, publice disputassent, atque ita peritiæ suæ specimen dedissent.* In the close of the day, the Præsident, with the formality of delivering a book into their hands, gave them their first degree; But such of them as had studied three years after their first degree, to answer the Horatian character of an artist,

“Qui studiis annos septem dedit, insenuitque
Libris et curis.”

And besides their exhibiting synopses of the liberal arts, by themselves composed, now again publicly disputed on some questions, of perhaps a little higher elevation; *these* now, with a like formality, received their second degree, proceeding Masters of Art. — *Quis enim Doctrinam amplectitur ipsam, præmia si tollas?* The words used by the Præsident, in this action, were,

For the Batchelours.

Admitto te ad Primum Gradum in Artibus, scilicet ad respondendum quæstioni pro more Academiæ in Angliâ.

Tibiq; trado hunc librum, unâ cum potestate publicè prælegendi, in aliquâ Artium (quam profiteris) quotiescunq; ad hoc munus evocatus fueris.

For the Masters.

Admitto te ad Secundum Gradum in Artibus, pro more Academiæ in Angliâ.

Tradoque tibi hunc librum, unâ cum potestate profitendi, ubicunque ad hoc munus publicè evocatus fueris.

[*Mather's Magnalia*, B. IV. pp. 127, 128.]

2. At the Commencement, it has been the annual custom for the Batchelors, to publish a sheet of *Theses, pro virili defendendæ*, upon all or most of the liberal arts; among which they do, with a particular character, distinguish those that are to be the subjects of the publick disputations then before them; and those Theses they dedicate as handsomely as they can, to the persons of quality, but especially the Governour of the province, whose patronage the Colledge would be recommended unto. The masters do, in an half sheet, without any dedication, publish only the *Questiones pro modulo discutiendæ*, which they purpose either affirmatively or negatively to maintain as respondents, in the disputations, which are by them to be managed. They that peruse the Theses of the Batchelors of later years published, will find that though the Ramæan discipline be in this College preferred unto the Aristotelæan, yet they not so confine themselves unto *that* neither, as to deprive themselves of that Libera Philosophia, which the good spirits of the age have embraced, ever since the great Lord Bacon show'd 'em the way to *The Advancement of Learning*; but they seem to be rather of the sect, begun by Potamon, called ἐκλεκτικοὶ, who adhering to *no former sect*, chose out of them all, what they lik'd best in any of them: At least, I am sure, they do not show such a veneration for Aristotle as is express'd at Queens-Colledge in Oxford; where they read Aristotle on their knees, and those who take degrees are sworn to defend his philosophy. A Venetian writer pretends to enumerate no less than twelve thousand volumes published in the fourteenth age, about the philosophy of Aristotle, none of ours will add unto the number. For this let the learned reader, accept the excuse, which their present President, in one of his orations, at the close of their exercises, has helpt us unto.

Mihi quidem maximè arridet, quòd vos qui estis in Artibus Liberalibus initiati, liberum philosophandi modum, potius quam Peripateticismum sapere videmini. Nullus addubito quin Cl. Gassendi Exercitationes vobis non sunt ignotæ, in quibus, quòd apud Aristotelem multa deficient, multa superfluant, multa fallant, pluribus ostendit. Tritum est illud, Qui non vult intelligi debet negligi; nonnulla autem in libris Aristotelis, nemo mortalium potest intellegere. Fertur itaque de Hermolao Barbaro, quòd Dæmonem ab Inferis excitaverit, ut quid Aristoteles per suam ἐντελέχειαν voluit, exponeret. En egregium Aristotelis interpretem! Quam plurima in ejus scriptis, authoris Paganismum redolent: mundum facit increatum: mortuorum resurrectionem.

possibilem negat; animam mortalem. Nonnulli Pyrrhonem, qui fuit pater Scepticorum; alii Zenonem, qui fuit pater Stoicorum; multi Platonem, qui fuit Pater Academicorum; Aristoteli præferunt. Vos autem quibus liberè philosophari contigit, in nullius jurare verba magistri estis addicti: Ast unicum Aristotelis dictum, verè aureum, memoriâ teneatis, Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, (addo ego amicus Aristoteles,) sed magis amica Veritas.

They likewise which peruse the questiones published by the masters, will find, that as these, now and then presume to fly as high as divinity; so their divinity is of that *reformed stamp*, which carries as frequent confutations of Arminianism with it, as are possible: Herein condemning those Protestant Universities, abroad in the world, which have not preserved the glorious doctrines of grace, in such purity, as that great party among the Romanists themselves, which go under the name of Jansenists. But for this also let their present President be accountable, whose orations at the end of their exercises, have uttered such passages as these unto them.

Gravis illa fuit profundi Doctoris querela, totum pene mundum post Pelagium in errorem abire. Causa in promptu est; nam propter Adæ, et in eo peccantis humani generis, naufragium, mortales prout res sint, nec sentiunt, nec judicant. Toti, toti, quanti quantiq; sunt, a bono et vero aversi, conversi ad malum et errorem. Pelagianismus itaq; homini in statu lapso naturalis est, nec unquam sic avelli potest, quòd non iterum tanquam infelix lolium, in fundo naturæ corruptæ exoriatur. Videmus Papistas, Socinianistas, nec non Arminii sequaces, Pelagii, de liberi arbitrii viribus, virus absorbentes ac devorantes; tametsi eorum error, non tantum ab Augustino, jamdudum, et a Luthero, in Libro insigni cui titulus est, De Servo Arbitrio, sed etiam ab innumeris hujus seculi viris perquam eruditis, refutatur. Sed facessat jam Arminianismus, cum sit Neo-pelagianismus. Mihi in mentem venit anagramma, sive ingeniosa nominis Arminii interpretatio, ex literarum traiectione. Jacobus Arminius, ἀναγγραμματοζόμενος est, Vani Orbis Amicus; at nobis ergo non sit amicus. Habemus autem in Amyraldo Arminium Redivivum; parùm enim, aut nihil afferunt Amyraldistæ, quos novatores et methodistas vocant, nisi quæ ab Arminianis acceperunt, uti multis Cl. Molineus evicit. Facessant igitur novatores, et in nostra Academia, nec vola, nec vestigium Arminianismi unquam inveniat. In quantum verò Inceptores nostri veram contrà Arminianismum sententiam pro virili propugnârunt, eos laureâ dignos habeamus.

And now, I hope, that the European churches of the faithful, will cast an eye of some respect upon a little University in America, recommended by the character that has been thus given of it. Certainly they must be none but enemies to the Reformation, the sons of Edom (which the Jewish Rabbins very truly tell us, is the name of Rome in the Sacred Oracles) that shall say of such an University, *Rase it! Rase it!* — [*Ibid.* pp. 131, 132.]

THE THESES OF THE FIRST CLASS OF GRADUATES AT HARVARD COLLEGE, IN 1642.

Spectatissimis Pietate, et Illustrissimis Eximia Virtute Viris,
D. *Iohanni Winthropo*, inclytæ Massachusetti Colonix
Gubernatori, D. *Johanni Endicotto*, Vice-
Gubernatori, D. *Thom. Dudleo*, D. *Rich.*
Bellinghamo, D. *Ioan. Humphrydo*,
D. *Israel. Stoughtono*.

Nec non Reverendis pientissimisque viris *Ioanni Cottono*,
Ioan. Wilsono, *Ioan. Davenport*, *Tho. Weldo*, *Hugoni*
Petro, *Tho. Shepardo*, Collegii *Harvardensis*,
Nov. *Cantabr.* Inspectoribus fidelissimis,
cæterisque Magistratibus, et Ecclesia-
rum ejusdem Colonix Presbyteris
vigilantissimis;

Has Theses Philologicas, et Philosophicas, quas, Deo duce,
Præside *Henrico Dunstero*, palam pro virili propugnare
conabuntur, (honoris et observantiæ gratia) dicant
consecrantque in artibus liberalibus
initiati Adolescentes.

Benjamin Woodbrigius
Georgius Downingus
Gulielmus Hubbardus
Henricus Saltonstall
Iohannes Bulkleius

Ioannes Wilsonus
Nathaniel Brusterus
Samuel Bellinghamus
Tobias Bernardus.

Theses Philologicas.

GRAMMATICAS.

1. Linguarum Scientia est utilissima.
2. Literæ non exprimunt quantum vocis organa efferunt.
3. Hæbræa est Linguarum Mater.
4. Consonantes et vocales Hæbræorum sunt cœtanæ.
5. Punctuationes chatephatæ syllabam proprie non efficiunt.

6. Linguarum Græca est copiosissima.
7. Lingua Græca est ad accentus pronuntianda.
8. Lingua Latina est eloquentissima.

RHETORICAS.

1. Rhetorica specie differt a Logica.
2. In Elocutione perspicuitati cedit ornatus, ornatui copia.
3. Actio primas tenet in pronuntiatione.
4. Oratoris est celare Artem.

LOGICAS.

1. Universalia non sunt extra intellectum.
2. Omnia Argumenta non sunt relata.
3. Causa *sine qua non* non est peculiaris causa a quatuor reliquis generalibus.
4. Causa et effectus sunt simul tempore.
5. Dissentanea sunt æque nota.
6. Contrarietas est tantum inter duo.
7. Sublato relato tollitur correlatum.
8. Genus perfectum æqualiter communicatur speciebus.
9. Testimonium valet quantum testis.
10. Elenchorum doctrina in Logica non est necessaria.
11. Axioma contingens est, quod ita verum est, ut aliquando falsum esse possit.
12. Præcepta Artium debent esse *κατὰ πάντος, καθ' αὐτό, καθ' ὅλου πρώτον*.

Theses Philosophicas.

ETHICAS.

1. Philosophia practica est eruditionis meta.
2. Actio virtutis habitum antecellit.
3. Voluntas est virtutis moralis subjectum.
4. Voluntas est formaliter libera.
5. Prudentia virtutum difficillima.
6. Prudentia est virtus intellectualis et moralis.
7. Justitia mater omnium virtutum.
8. Mors potius subeunda quam aliquid culpæ perpetrandum.
9. Non injuste agit nisi qui libens agit.
10. Mentiri potest qui verum dicit.
11. Juveni modestia summum ornamentum.

PHYSICAS.

1. Corpus naturale mobile est subjectum Physicæ.
2. Materia secunda non potest existere sine formâ.
3. Forma est accidens.
4. Unius rei non est nisi unica forma constitutiva.
5. Forma est principium individuationis.
6. Privatio non est principium internum.
7. Ex meris accidentibus non fit substantia.
8. Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur.
9. In omni motu movens simul est cum mobili.
10. Cælum non movetur ab intelligentiis.
11. Non dantur orbes in cælo.
12. Quodlibet Elementum habet unam ex primis qualitatibus sibi maxime propriam.
13. Putredo in humido fit a calore externo.
14. Anima non fit ex traduce.
15. Vehemens sensibile destruit sensum.

METAPHYSICAS.

1. Omne ens est bonum.
2. Omne creatum est concretum.
3. Quicquid æternum idem et immensum.
4. Bonum metaphysicum non suscipit gradus.

[*Hutchinson's Hist.* I. pp. 510 — 513.]

3. But our account of Harvard College will be rendered more complete, if we do here transcribe the laws of it ; which laws, now, Reader, do bespeak thy patience.

Statuta, Leges, et Privilegia, a Preside et Sociis, Collegii Harvardini, apud Cantabrigienses in Novâ Angliâ, approbata et sancita ; quibus Scholares sive Studentes, et Admissi et Admittendi, ad Literas et bonos Mores promovendum, subjicere tenentur.

(1.) Cuicunque fuerit peritia legendi *Ciceronem*, aut quemvis alium ejusmodi classicum autorem ex tempore, et congruè loquendi ac scribendi Latinè facultas, oratione tam solutâ quàm ligatâ, suo (ut aiunt) marte, et ad unguem inflectendi Græcorum nominum, et verborum paradigmata ; hic admissionem in collegium jure potest

expectare; quicumque vero destitutus fuerit hâc peritiâ, admissionem sibi neutiquam vindicet.

(2.) Quicumq; in collegium admittuntur, iidem etiam contubernio excipiendi sunt; et unusquisq; scholarium œconomo tres libras, cum hospitio accipitur, numerabit; eidem ad finem cuiusq; trimestris quod debitum erit, solvet: nec licet ulli academico, nondum gradu ornato, convictum extra collegium quærere, nisi veniâ impetratâ a præsidente, aut suo tutore. Si quis autem hanc præsidis aut tutoris indulgentiam obtinebit, consuetudinem usitam fideliter observabit; sin autem aliquis a collegio descedendo privatam institutionem quæsierit, copiâ a præsidente, vel a tutoribus illi non factâ, nullo privilegio academico patietur.

(3.) Dum hîc egerint, tempus studiosè redimunto; tam communes omnium scholarium horas, quam suis prælectionibus destinatas, observando.

(4.) Unusquisque scholarium exercitia omnia scholastica et religiosa, tam publica quam privata sibi propria, præstabit. Adhuc in statu pupillari degentes, sexies quotannis rostra oratoria ascendent. Unaquâque septimanâ bis disputationibus publicis sophistæ interesse debent: Cum baccalaurei tum sophistæ analysin in aliquam S. literarum partem instituent: Baccalaurei singulis semestribus publicè quæstiones philosophicas sub præsidis moderamine discutient: absente vero præsidente, duo seniores tutores moderatoris partes alternatim agent.

(5.) Ne quis, sub quovis prætextu, hominum, quorum periti ac discincti sunt mores, consuetudine utitor.

(6.) Nemo in statu pupillari degens, nisi concessâ priùs a præsidente, vel a tutoribus, veniâ, ex oppido exeat: nec quisquam, cujuscunque gradûs aut ordinis fuerit, tabernas aut diversoria, ad comessandum, aut bibendum, accedat, nisi ad parentes, curatores, nutricios, aut huiusmodi, accersitus fuerit.

(7.) Nullus scholaris, nullo parentum, curatorum, aut tutorum approbante, quicquam emito, vendito, aut commutato; qui autem secùs fecerit, a præsidente aut tutore, pro delicti ratione, mulctabitur.

(8.) Omnes scholares a vestibibus, quæ fastum aut luxum præ se ferunt, abstineant; nec ulli studenti extra limites academix, sine toga, tunica, vel penula, exire liceat.

(9.) Omnis scholaris non graduatus, solo cognomine vocetur, nisi sit commensalis, aut equitis primogenitus, vel insigni genere natus.

(10.) Omnis commensalis, quinque libras, in perpetuum academix usum, solvet, priusquam in collegium admittatur.

(11.) Unusquisque scholaris, in statu pupillari degens, tutori suo duas libras, at si commensalis, tres libras, per annum dinumerare tenebitur.

(12.) Nulli ex scholaribus senioribus, solis tutoribus et collegii sociis exceptis, recentem sive juniorem, ad itinerandum, aut ad aliud quodvis faciendum, minis, verberibus, vel aliis modis impellere licebit. Et siquis non graduatus in hanc legem peccaverit, castigatione corporali, expulsionem, vel aliter, prout præsidis cum sociis visum fuerit punietur.

(13.) Scholares, cujuscunque conditionis, a lusu alearum vel chartarum pictarum, nec non ab omni lusûs genere, in quo de pecuniâ concertatur, abstineant, sub pœnâ viginti solidorum toties, quoties, si sit graduatus, vel aliter, pro arbitrio præsidis et tutoris, si non sit graduatus.

(14.) Siquis scholarium a precibus aut prælectionibus abfuerit, nisi necessitate coactus, aut præsidis aut tutoris nactus veniam; admonitioni, aut aliusmodi, pro præsidis aut tutoris prudentiâ, pœnæ, si plusquam semel in hebdomade peccaverit, erit obnoxius.

(15.) Nullus scholaris quâvis de causâ (nisi præmonstrata et approbata præsidis et tutori suo) a studiis statisve exercitiis abesto: exceptâ semihorâ jentaculo, prandio vero sesquihorâ, concessâ; nec non cœnæ usque ad horam nonam.

(16.) Siquis scholarium ullam Dei aut hujus collegii legem, sive animo perverso, sive ex supinâ negligentia violarit, postquam fuerit bis admonitus, gravioribus, pro præsidis aut tutoris prudentiâ, pœnis coerceatur. In atrocioribus autem delictis, ut adeo gradatim procedatur, nemo expectet.

(17.) Quicumque scholaris, probatione habitâ, poterit sacras utriusque instrumenti Scripturas de textu originali Latinè interpretari, et logicè resolvere; fueritque naturalis et moralis philosophiæ principiis imbutus; vitæque et moribus inculpatus; et publicis quibusve comitiis a præside et sociis collegii, approbatus, primo suo gradu possit ornari. Aliter nemo, nisi post triennium et decem menses ab admissione in collegium, ad primum in artibus gradum admittetur.

(18.) Quicumque scholaris locum habuit communem, scriptamque synopsis vel compendium logicæ, naturalis et moralis philosophiæ, arithmeticæ, aut geometriæ, aut astronomiæ, exhibuerit, fueritque ad theses suas defendendas paratus; nec non originalium, ut supra dictum, linguarum, peritus; quem etiamnum morum integritas ac studiorum diligentia cohonestaverint, publicis quibusvis comitiis probatione factâ, secundi gradûs, magisterii nimirum, capax erit.

(19.) Statutum est, quòd qui theologiæ dat operam, antequam baccalaureatum in illâ facultate consequatur, gradum inagisterii in artibus suscipiat, ac sedulò theologicis et Hebraicis lectionibus incumbat; quibus annorum septem dabit operam: quo spatio, bis disputabit contra theologiæ baccalaureum, semelque respondebit in theologiâ; concionabitur Latinè semel, et semel Anglicè, vel in templo, vel in aulâ academix: et si, in hoc tempore, in theologiâ profecerit, per solennem inaugurationem baccalaureus fiet: hâc tamen cautione servatâ, ne quis, ante quinquennium completum a suscepto magistrali gradu, concionem hujusmodi habere permittetur.

(20.) Statutum est, quòd qui cupit in ordinem doctorum theologiæ cooptari, per integrum quinquennium, post susceptum baccalaurei gradum, lectionibus et studiis theologicis dabit operam, et antequam incipiendum, in eâdem facultate admittatur, in questionibus theologicis bis opponet, semel respondebit, idque doctori, si commodè fieri poterit; Latinè semel, Anglicè semel, concionabitur in templo, vel in aulâ academix; solenniter sexies legat, et explicet aliquam Scripturæ partem, et post solennem inceptionem, semel infra annum ipse sibi questionem proponere tenebitur in aulâ academix, cujus ambigua et dubitationes, in utramque partem, enucleabit, definiet, et determinabit.

(21.) Statutum est, quòd præter cætera exercitia, pro gradibus theologicis præstanda, unusquisque tam pro theologiæ baccalaureatu, quam pro doctoratu, candidatus, tractatum quendam contra hæresia vel errorem aliquem grassantem, aut in aliud utile quoddam argumentum (dirigentibus id præside et collegii sociis) pro communi ecclesiarum commodo, in lucem emittere tenebitur.

(22.) Gradus academici, qui a præside et curatoribus collegii Harvardini antehac collati sunt, pro validis habeantur.

(23.) Unusquisque scholaris harum legum exemplar, a præside et aliquo tutorum subscriptum, sibi comparabit, priusquam in collegium admittatur.

Among the laws of Harvard Colledge thus recited, the reader will find the degrees of a *baccalaureate* and a *doctorate*, in *divinity*, provided for those, that by coming up to terms, beyond those required, in any one European university, shall merit them. Now, though there are divines in the country, whose abilities would fully answer the terms thus proposed; yet partly from the novelty of the matter itself, which under the former charter was never pretended unto, and partly from the modesty of the persons most worthy to have this respect put upon them, there was yet never

made among us any of these promotions. 'T is true, these titles are of no very early original; for the occasion of them first arose, about the year of our Lord, 1135. Lotharius the emperor, having found in Italy, a copy of the Roman civil law, which he was greatly taken withal, he ordained, that it should be publicly expounded in the schools; and that he might give encouragement unto this employment, it was ordained, that the public professors of this law should be dignified with the style of *doctors*, whereof Bulgarus Hugolinus, with others, was the first. Not long after, this rite of creating doctors was borrowed of the lawyers, by divines, who in their schools publicly taught divinity; and the imitation took place, first in Bononia, Paris, and Oxford. But I see not, why such marks of honor may not be properly given by an American university, as well as an European to them, who, by such capacity and activity for the service of the churches, do deserve to be so distinguished. Indeed, this university did present their President with a diploma, for a doctorate under the seal of the Colledge with the hands of the fellows annexed: which, because it is the first and the sole instance of such a thing done in the whole English America, I will here transcribe it.

Quum gradus academicus, tam in theologiâ, quam in philosophiâ, pro more academiarum in Angliâ, conferendi potestas, ab amplissimo gubernatore, et a summâ Massachusettensis provinciæ curiâ, secundum sereniss. Regis ac Reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ, illis concessum diploma, sit nobis commissa: et quoniam vir clarissimus, D. CRESCENTIUS MATHERUS, Collegii Harvardini in Novâ Angliâ præses reverendus, libros quam plurimos tam Anglicè quàm Latinè edidit, omnigenâ literaturâ refertos, multisque prætereà modis, non solum in linguis et in artibus liberalibus peritissimum, verum etiam in S. S. Scripturis et in theologiâ se ostendit versatissimum; atque per studia et merita verè extraordinaria, non tantum apud Americanas, sed et Europæanas ecclesias commendatissimum se reddidit; propterea dictum D. CRESCENTIUM MATHERUM, doctorali cathedrâ dignum, judicamus, eumque pro autoritate nobis commissâ, S. Theologiæ Doctorem nominamus ac renunciamus. In cujus rei testimonium, academici sigillum hisce literis affiximus; nos, quorum hic sunt subscripta nomina.

Datum Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum, die Novembris septimo, anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimoque secundo.

[*Mather's Magnalia*, B. IV. pp. 132 - 134.]

4. We will conclude our catalogue of the graduates in this colledge, with the elegy, which the venerable Mr. JOHN WILSON made upon its founder.

In pientissimum, reverendissimumq; virum,
JOHANNEM HARVARDUM,
 è suggesto sacro Caroloensi ad cœlos evectum,
 Ad alumnos Cantabrienses literatos, poëma.

Johannes Harvardus.

Anagr.

Si non (ah !) surdâ aure.

En, mihi fert animus, Patroni nomine vestri
 (Si non, (ah !) surdâ spernitur aure) loqui.
 Sic ait.

Me Deus, immenso per Christum motus amore,
 Ad cœlos servum jussit abire suum.
 Parebam; monituque Dei præeunte paravam
 Quicquid ad optatum sufficiebat opus.
 Me (licet indignum) selegit gratia Christi,
 Fundarem Musis qui pia tecta piis.
 (Non quòd vel charâ moriens uxore carerem,
 Aut hæres alius quòd mihi nullus erat :)
 Hæredes vos ipse meos sed linquere suasit,
 Usque ad dimidium sortis opumque, Deus.
 Me commune bonum, præsertim gloria Christi,
 Impulit, et charæ posteritatis amor :
 Sat ratus esse mihi sobolis, pietatis amore
 Educet illustres si Schola nostra viros.
 Hæc mihi spes (vitâ morienti dulcior olim)
 Me recreat, cœli dum requiete fruor.
 At si degeneres liqueat vos esse (quod absit !)
 Otia si studiis sint potiora bonis :
 Si nec doctrinâ, nec moribus estis honestis
 Imbuti, (fastu non levior tamen)
 Grata sit aut vobis si secta vel hæresis ulla,
 Vos simul inficiens, vos, Dominique gregem :
 Hæc mihi patrono quàm sunt contraria vestro !
 Atque magis summo displicitura Deo !
 Nec tamen ista meo sic nomine dicier opto,
 Mens quasi promittat non meliora mihi !

Gaudia cœlorum vix me satiare valerent,
 Si tantâ orbatus speque fideque forem.
 Ille Deus vobis, vestrisque laboribus, almam,
 Et dedit, et porrò suppeditabit opem.
 Ejus in obsequio, sic, O ! sic, pergite cuncti,
 Ut fluat hinc major gloria lausque Deo.
 At si quis recto malè sit de tramite gressus
 (Quod David, et Solomon, et Petrus ipse queat),
 Hic sibi ne placeat, monitus neque ferre recuset,
 In rectam possint qui revocare viam.
 Sic grati vos este Deo ! vestrique labores,
 Quos olim in Christo suscipietis, erunt.
 Utque Vetus meruit sibi Cantabrigia nomen,
 Sic nomen fiet dulce feraxque Novæ.

JOHANNES WILSONUS.

Verba Doct. Arrowsmith, in Orat. Antiwiegelianâ.

Faxit Deus optimus, maximus, tenacem adeò veritatis hanc
 academiam, ut deinceps in Angliâ lupum, in Hibernia bufonem,
 invenire facilius sit, quàm aut Socinianum, aut Arminianum in
 Cantabrigiâ. — [*Ibid.* B. IV. p. 139.]

No. XII. (p. 28.)

SOME of their [the Indians] sons have been brought up scholars in Harvard Colledge, and I was told that there was but two Fellowes in that Colledge, and one of them was an Indian; some few of these Christian Indians have of late apostatized and fallen back to their old superstition and course of life. — [*Josselyn's Voyages to New England*, p. 149. London, 1675. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Coll. III. Third Series, pp. 310, 311.]

(p. 2.)

At the bottom of the bay the river begins to be narrower, half a quarter of a mile broad; by the north-side of the river is Newtown, three miles from Charles-town, a league and half by water, it was first intended for a city, the neatest and best compacted town, having many fair structures and handsom contrived streets; the inhabitants rich, they have many hundred acres of land paled with one common fence a mile and half long, and store of cattle; it is now called *Cambridge* where is a Colledg for students of late; it stretcheth from Charles river to the southern part of Merrimach-river. — *Ibid.* pp. 164, 165.

(p. .)

Harvard Colledge founded with a publick library.

Ministers bred in New England, and (excepting about 10) in Harvard Colledge one hundred thirty two: of which dyed in the countrey ten, now living eighty one, removed to England forty one — *Ibid.* p. 262.

No. XIII. (p. 9.)

THE following is the first class of Harvard College, as it stands in the catalogue :

1642.

Benjamin Woodbridge, Mr. Oxon. S. T. D.

GEORGIUS DOWNING, Eques, Oliv. Crom. et Caro. II. Leg. apud
Resp. Bat.

Johannes Bulkley, Mr.

Gulielmus Hubbard, Mr.

SAMUEL BELLINGHAM, Mr. M. D. Lugd.

Johannes Wilson, Mr.

HENRICUS SALTONSTALL, M. D. Patav. et Oxon., Soc.

TOBIAS BARNARD.

Nathanael Brewster, Th. Bac. Dublin.

Account of the first class of Graduates.

[Of these graduates the following particulars have been collected from various sources, by the Editor.]

1. Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge* was educated partly at Magdalen college, Oxon, and then went to New England, where he finished his academical studies. He was the first graduate of Harvard college. In the language of Dr. Calamy, he was the first fruits, and lasting glory of that institution, as bishop Usher was of Dublin. In the catalogue of our college he is a doctor of divinity. Neither Dr. Calamy nor Dr. Mather mention this. It must have been under the reign of Cromwell, at the university of Oxford, for under no other administration could a puritan divine receive this honorary distinction from that place. He was one of King Charles's chaplains in ordinary after the restoration, and had the choice of being canon of Windsor, if he would conform; and of ejection, if he would not. He preferred the latter. He had succeeded the famous Dr. Twiss at Newbury, where he continued preaching after he was silenced. In 1671, by King Charles's indulgence, he preached more publicly. Though he was favored more than Non-conformists in general, yet he suffered a great deal, and met with enemies, who had some influence, though of little worth. He

died in the year 1684, having been minister of Newbury above forty years, and a great part of his time being able to attend his duty.

His character for learning, piety, and moderation, and activity in the line of his profession, highly deserved praise. It must give pleasure to the alumni of the college to hear of his good name, as he was the eldest son of our *alma mater*. He was truly a great man. As a preacher, a christian, a casuist, a scholar, he had more than common reputation. He was called a charming preacher, his voice was remarkable, and his manner graceful. It is said, that his temper was cheerful, his behaviour genteel and obliging. His catholick spirit was manifested when he was one of the commissioners at Savoy. He was very desirous of an accommodation; and concerned to find that his endeavours were fruitless. — [*Eliot's Eccles. Hist.* in Mass. Hist. Coll. X. p. 32, note.]

Benjamin Woodbridge was brother to the Rev. John Woodbridge of Andover, Massachusetts, and son of the Rev. John Woodbridge of Wiltshire, England; he was born at Highworth in 1622. After completing his education, he returned to England, was settled at Salisbury, Nov. 16, 1648, and afterwards succeeded Dr. Twiss, as above stated, at Newbury, where he gained a high reputation, as a scholar, a preacher, a casuist, and a christian. After he was ejected, in 1662, he continued to preach privately. He died at Englefield, Berks, Nov. 1, 1684, aged 62, and was buried at Newbury. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Oxford. — [*Farmer's Hist. Coll.* III. p. 183; and *Genealogical Register of the first Settlers of New England*, by the same author, art. *Woodbridge*.] — “Though inclined to presbyterianism, to use Mr. [Samuel] Mather's words, not malignantly affected.” — [*Hutch. Hist.* I. p. 111, note.]

2. *George Downing* went into the army, and was scout-master general of the English army in Scotland. He was afterwards in great favor with Cromwell, who sent him ambassador to the States, and upon the restoration he turned with the times, and was sent or kept by the King in the same employ, had the merit of betraying, securing, and sending over several of the regicides (he had been captain under one of them, Col. Okey) was knighted and in favor at court, and died in 1684. His character runs low with the best historians in England; it was much lower with his countrymen in New England; and it became a proverbial expression, to say of a

false man who betrayed his trust, that he was an arrant George Downing. Oliver Cromwell, when he sent him agent or ambassador to the States, in his letter of credence says, "George Downing is a person of eminent quality, and after a long trial of his fidelity, probity, and diligence in several and various negotiations, well approved and valued by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your Lordships, dignified with the character of our agent," &c. (Milton's Letters.) In his latter days he is said to have been very friendly to New England, and when the colony was upon the worst terms with King Charles the Second. An article of news from England, in 1671, says, "Sir George Downing is in the Tower, it is said because he returned from Holland, where he was sent ambassador, before his time: As it is reported, he had no small abuse offered him there. They printed the sermons he preached in Oliver's time and drew three pictures of him. 1. Preaching in a tub, over it was wrote, *This I was*. 2. A treacherous courtier, over it, *This I am*. 3. Hanging on a gibbet, and over it, *This I shall be*." Prints of that sort were not so common in England in that day as they have been the last twenty years.

"Downing was sent to make up the quarrel with the Dutch, but coming home in too great haste and fear, is now in the prison where his master lay that he betrayed." *MS. Letter Lond. March 4, 1671-2*. By his master, no doubt Okey is intended. His son was one of the Tellers in the Exchequer in 1680. Sir George died in 1684. He was brother-in-law to governor Bradstreet, and kept up a correspondence with him. — [*Hutch. Hist. I. p. 111, note.*]

George Downing was born in London; was prepared for entering Harvard College, by the Rev. John Fisk, of Salem, and, after taking his degree, went to England in 1645, and sustained various offices under Cromwell and Charles II.; by the latter he was made a baronet, July 1, 1662, his residence being then at East Hatley, in Cambridgeshire. He married about 1654, Frances Howard, and died in 1684, aged about 59. His son George married Catharine, eldest daughter of James, Earl of Salisbury. Their son George died in 1747, without issue, and left a bequest for founding a college at Cambridge in England, now called "Downing College"; which bequest now amounts to £150,000. — [*Farmer's Genealogical Register*, art. *Downing*. *Bentley's Hist. of Salem*, in *Mass. Histor. Coll. VI. p. 240, First Series.*]

Every printed book has, I believe, hitherto called this most distinguished of the early sons of Harvard College, the son of Cali-

bute Downing, a puritan divine. This error is probably chargeable to honest Anthony Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

Another mistake is found in the famous Andrew Marvell. Among his works is "A seasonable argument to persuade all the grand juries of England to petition for a new parliament; or a list of the principal laborers in the great design of popery and arbitrary power, who have betrayed their country to the conspirators, and bargained with them to maintain a standing army in England, under the command of the bigotted popish [Duke] who by the assistance of the L.L's [Lord Lauderdale's] Scotch army, the forces in Ireland, and those in France, hopes to bring all back to Rome" Amsterdam, 1677. This curious tract contains a list of the members of the commons, arranged under the several counties in alphabetical order, with some account of the rewards to each for his service to the court. Our son of the first days at Harvard College is thus mentioned: "Northumberland. Morpeth. Sir George Downing, a poor child, bred upon charity; like Judas, betrayed his master. What then can his country expect? He drew and advised the oath of renouncing the king's family, and took it first himself. For his honesty, fidelity, &c. rewarded by his majesty with 80,000 pounds at least, and is a commissioner of the customs, the house bell to call the courtiers to vote at six o'clock at night, an Exchequer teller."

Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Vol. II. 27, in the account of Calybutte Downing LL. D. who died 1644, says, "This Dr. Cal. Downing was father to a son of his own temper named George, a sider with all times and changes, well skilled in the common cant, and a preacher sometimes to boot, a man of note in Oliver's days, as having been by him sent resident to the Lord's States General of the United Provinces, a soldier in Scotland, and at length Scout-Master General there, and a burgess for several corporations in that kingdom, in parliaments that began there in 1654 and 56. Upon a foresight of his majesty King Charles II. his restoration, he wheeled about, took all opportunities to show his loyalty, was elected burgess for Morpeth in Northumberland, to serve in that parliament begun at Westminster, 8th May, 1661, was about that time sent envoy extraordinary into Holland, where to show his zeal and love for his majesty, he seized on three regicides at Delft named John Barkstead, John Okey, and Miles Corbet, whom he forthwith sent into England to receive the reward of the gallows. Afterwards being made secretary to the treasury and one of his

majesty's commissioners of the customs, was by the name of Sir George Downing of East Hatley in Cambridgeshire, Knight, created a baronet on the first of July 1663." In the same Vol. p. 758 — 9, Wood repeats the story of Sir George's service in seizing the regicides at an alehouse in Delft in the beginning of March, 1661, and in conclusion quotes the passage above from Marvell.

Now we know, that, being son of Emanuel Downing, and nephew of Governor Winthrop, he was not a *poor child*, bred upon charity, as the indignation of Marvell represents. However undeserving of approbation his political character may be, which is fairly represented, I imagine, by Hutchinson I. p. 107, in the most amusing note of his history, his powers of rendering himself useful by aptitude for affairs of state, and great assiduity in business, could alone gain him the high employments which Oliver Cromwell bestowed. He was employed in negotiations with the Duke of Savoy in 1653, and at home in business of the army, and was specially chosen member of parliament in 1656 for the protector's purposes, from the Scotch borough of Haddington in Scotland under Monk's instructions. But his great services for Oliver and the succeeding brief administrations was as minister in Holland, 1657 — 8, very abundant evidence of which is in Thurloe's State Papers, especially Vol. VII.

By the recently published Memoirs of Pepys, who was in Downing's office, at first, as a clerk, it appears that in the anarchy of 1659 the crafty politician was at home, near the Exchequer; and went over, in the most important juncture, end of January, 1660, to wait for events at the Hague. He was knighted a week before the restoration. Of the arrest of the regicides, Pepys writes in his Diary, 1662, March 12, "this morning we had news, that Sir G. Downing (like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the king, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it) hath taken Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead at Delft in Holland, and sent them home in the Blackmore. Sir W. Penn, talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lord's States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance that he was when he came from the traitor and rebel Cromwell; by whom, I am sure, he hath got all he hath in the world, and they know it too." Vol. I. pp. 134 — 5. He adds, under the date of 17th, mentioning the arrival of the prisoners, "the captain tells me, the Dutch were a good

while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. • But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so; though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains.”

Pepys, probably, knew Downing's origin, but his noble editor, Lord Braybrooke has repeated the story about Cal. Downing being his father. We need not be surprised at this, for Hutchinson has not given any genealogy, and a relative of Downing, the late William Winthrop of Cambridge, in his catalogue of Harvard College, MS. belonging to the Historical Society, prolongs the delusion of Wood.

I may be excused for extending this note by farther extracts from one who knew him so well as Pepys: “1667, May 27. The new commissioners of the treasury have chosen Sir G. Downing for their secretary; and I think in my conscience they have done a great thing in it; for he is active and a man of business, and values himself upon having of things do well under his hand; so that I am mightily pleased in their choice.” Vol. II. p. 58.

“1668, December 27. Met with Sir G. Downing, and walked with him an hour talking of business, and how the late war was managed, there being nobody to take care of it; and he telling, when he was in Holland, what he offered the king to do if he might have power, and then upon the least word, perhaps of a woman, to the king, he was contradicted again, and particularly to the loss of all that we lost in Guinea. He told me that he had so good spies, that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's pocket when he was abed, and his closet opened and papers brought to him and left in his hands for an hour, and carried back and laid in the place again, and the keys put into his pocket again. He says he hath always had their most private debates, that have been but between two or three of the chief of them, brought to him in an hour after, and an hour after that hath sent word thereof to the king.” Vol. II. p. 291.

A note to Bliss's edition of Wood mentions an epithalamium in 1654, in nuptias viri vere honoratissimi Georgii Downingi, campo exploratoris generalissimi, &c. et vere nobilissimæ Franciscæ Howardi equitis aurati et sororis illustrissimi Caroli Howardi de Naworth in Com. Cumbriæ, &c. This marriage probably extended his influence very much. His son, Sir George, married Catharine, eldest daughter of James, Earl of Salisbury. Their son, Sir George, grandson of the youth mentioned in our text, was in three

different parliaments, 1710, 1713, and 1727, and dying in 1747 without issue, left the most splendid perpetuation of his name, by a bequest for the foundation of a college at Cambridge, incorporated in 1800, by the name of Downing College, on a more liberal foundation than any other at that renowned university. See *Dyer's History of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. II. 440-447. The amount of the bequest is now valued at more than 150,000 pounds.

Our Governor Bradstreet married a sister of Downing, and kept up a correspondence with him. But in our country, which harboured and favored three of the regicides so many years, he, who betrayed, or at least seized in a foreign land, three others, with one of whom he had served, could hardly expect greater favour than such conduct deserves. — [*Winthrop's Journal*, by Mr. Savage, II. pp. 240-243, note.]

3. *John Bulkley*. He was son of the Rev. Peter Bulkley, D. D., the first minister of Concord, Massachusetts, who was of a very reputable family, and had been much esteemed for his learning and piety in England. After having taken his degree at Harvard College he went to England, and was a settled minister at Fordham, in Essex; from whence he was ejected in 1662, retired to Wapping, in London, and practised physic with success. — [*Hutchinson's Hist.* I. p. 111.; *Farmer's Hist. Coll.* II. p. 184, and *Genealogical Register*, art. *Bulkley*; *Shattuck's History of Concord*.]

4. *William Hubbard*. In the book of "Wonder-working Providences," mention is made of *William Hubbard*, one of the representatives in the General Court, from the town of Ipswich. It is said, he was among the most able speakers in the assembly 1637. One gentleman from Salem was allowed to be more fluent, but none more solid and argumentative. This gentleman is supposed to have been father to the subject of this article, who was teacher of the church in Ipswich till his death. The year of his ordination I have never been able to obtain; the records of the church of Ipswich not being preserved. His gravestone is not to be found, and none of the present generation can recollect much about him. The oldest men in the town, who tell of those former divines that were contemporary, such as Rogers, Norton, Cobbet, &c., whose manner of preaching they have heard their fathers describe, have no impressions made upon their minds of the character of Mr. Hubbard, who certainly was for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex; equal to any in the province for learning and candour, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer. Per-

haps he was not so fervent a preacher as some. He might want a voice and manner, or that animation in the pulpit which some preachers have, and which will be more talked of, than the still sound of wisdom. Or perhaps he lived too long for his reputation. When a man's life is cut short in the midst of his days and usefulness, the excellencies of his name and character are the subjects of remark for many generations. If another continues to old age, and mental imbecilities succeed the more vigorous intellect, he is remembered only in the last stage of life, and he drops into the grave without emotions of sorrow. His name is seldom mentioned in the neighbourhood where he dwelt; but those at a distance, who have heard of his fame when he appeared upon the stage with engaging virtue, or read his works with delight, wish to know what were the more minute parts of his character.

Whether these observations apply generally or not, they certainly apply to the subject of this memoir. He has been quoted by all who give accounts of New-England, but few, very few notices of him are in the records of the town, where he spent his days.*

In the year 1676 Mr. Hubbard preached the election sermon, which is among the very good ones published during that century. He was one of the seventeen ministers who bore testimony against the old church in Boston, when they settled Mr. Davenport; also, when the General Assembly approved of the act of the First Church, and censured the proceedings of the Third Church, commonly called the Old South. The division excited upon this occasion interested the passions of the people at large, so as to give a new complexion to publick affairs. Most of the deputies, who had so severely censured the brethren who built the Old South church, *for their spirit of innovation, and leaving the good old path of their fathers*, were left out, and new members chosen. The town of Ipswich took an active part in this matter; and Mr. Hubbard's influence had considerable effect upon their proceedings.

In 1682, Mr. Hubbard is brought to view as the historian of Massachusetts. He received some reward from the public for his useful work. The following vote is copied from the records of the General Court, October 11.

“Whereas it hath been thought necessary and a duty incumbent upon us, to take due notice of all occurrences and passages of God's providence towards the people of this jurisdiction, since their

* See Mr. Frisbie's Letters, Hist. Coll. X. p. 35.

first arrival in these parts, which may remain to posterity, and that the Rev. Mr. William Hubbard hath taken pains to compile a history of this nature, which the court doth with thankfulness acknowledge, and as a manifestation thereof, do hereby order the treasurer to pay unto him the sum of fifty pounds in money, he transcribing it fairly into a book, that it may be the more easily perused, in order to the satisfaction of this court."

In 1684 Mr. Hubbard presided at the commencement. This was after the death of President Rogers. But though Dr. Increase Mather was in the neighbourhood, the senatus academicus saw fit to send for a minister from the county of Essex; so respectable was his character among the literary men of his profession.

The publications of Mr. Hubbard were not very numerous. They consist of several volumes in duodecimo; of which are a narrative of the Indian wars; Memoirs of Major General Dennison, &c. But his chief attention was paid to his MS. history, which was composed upon the plan of Winthrop's journal. For some reason or other, neither of these MMS. were permitted to be seen by the public, till lately the journal has been printed. In all his histories Mr. Hubbard appears a steady friend to the constitution of the churches. He expressed indignant feelings at the erection of the church in Brattle Street, upon a more liberal plan than our fathers were willing to adopt.

There is nothing of this said in his MMS. history, which only comes down to 1680, but he speaks pointedly in his private letters to several gentlemen, and in the last thing he published, his Dying testimony to the order of the Churches, which he wrote jointly with Mr. Higginson of Salem. — (*Eliot's Biographical Dictionary*, art. *Hubbard*.)

I have taken so many facts and remarks, in my first volume, from a manuscript history of Mr. William Hubbard, one of the ministers of Ipswich, that I may not omit taking notice of his death, September 14, 1704, at the age of eighty-three years; and giving him the character he deserved, of a man of learning, of a candid and benevolent mind, accompanied, as it generally is, with a good degree of catholicism; which, I think, was not accounted the most valuable part of his character in the age in which he lived. — [*Hutchinson's History*, II. p. 136, note.]

He was born in 1621, and settled about 1657, as colleague with the Rev. Thomas Cobbett, at Ipswich. He was a man of learning, and of a candid, benevolent mind. John Dunton, in his *Journal*

in Massachusetts, speaks of him as "learned without ostentation," and as "a man of singular modesty; of strict morals," and as having done "as much for the conversion of the Indians as most men in New England." His History of New England lay in manuscript till 1815, when it was published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and constitutes two volumes of their *Collections*." — [*Farmer's Hist. Coll.* II. p. 185.] [Hubbard's New England, though once considered highly important as an original, independent authority in our colonial history, has lost its former value since the discovery first announced by our very learned historiographer, Mr. Savage, that it is in substance a copy of Winthrop's History of New England. See his valuable and interesting note to Winthrop's work, Vol. I. pp. 296, &c. and his Preface to the same volume. EDIT.]

5. *Samuel Bellingham*. He received the degree of Doctor of Physic at Leyden. He appears to have been living when the Catalogue of Graduates in Mather's *Magnalia* was made, or about 1697; and survived all his classmates, except the Rev. Mr. Hubbard. He was of Rowley. — [*Hutchinson's Hist.* I. p. 112, note; *Farmer's Hist. Collections*, II. p. 185; and *Genealogical Register*, art. *Bellingham*.]

6. *John Wilson*. He was son of the first minister of Boston (of the same name), and was born in England, in July, 1621; was ordained as colleague with the Rev. Richard Mather at Dorchester, and after two years was settled in Medfield, where he was pastor forty years, and died, August 23, 1691, aged 70. Dr. Mather says, that when "he was a child he fell upon his head from a loft four stories high into the street, from whence he was taken up for dead, and so battered and bruised and bloody with his fall, that it struck horror into the beholders." After he graduated he settled at Medfield, and, says Dr. Mather, "continued unto old age a faithful, painful, useful minister of the gospel." — [*Hutchinson's Hist.* I. p. 112, note; *Farmer's Histor. Coll.* II. p. 185; and *Genealogical Register*, art. *Wilson*.]

7. *Henry Saltonstall*. He is supposed by Governor Hutchinson to have been a *grandson* of Sir Richard Saltonstall; he was a doctor of physic, and a fellow of New College, Oxford. — [*Hutch. Hist.* I. p. 112, note.] — Like several of the early graduates, *he went home* after leaving college, and received a degree of Doctor of Medicine from Padua, and also from Oxford. — [*Sketch of Ha-*

verhill, Massachusetts, by a descendant of the family, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem ; published in the Mass. Hist. Coll. IV. p. 159, Second Series.] — Our accurate American antiquarian, Mr. Farmer, in his last work states Henry Saltonstall to have been a *son* of Sir Richard ; and adds, that his degree at Padua was conferred in October, 1649, and at Oxford on the 24th of June, 1652. — [*Farmer's Genealog. Reg.* art. *Saltonstall*.]

8. *Tobias Barnard*. Nothing is said of him by Hutchinson ; and all the information which has been collected respecting him by the very careful inquirer last mentioned, is, that he went from this country to England. — [*Ibid.* art. *Barnard*.]

9. *Nathaniel Brewster*. Hutchinson says, he was a settled minister in Norfolk, and of good report. — [*Hist. Mass.* I. p. 112, note.] — It appears by the Cambridge Catalogue, that he received from Dublin the degree of Bachelor of Divinity ; and Mr. Farmer states, on the authority of the Hon. Silas Wood, that he returned to America, settled in 1656, at Brookhaven, Long Island, and died in 1690. — [*Genealogical Register*, art. *Brewster*.] — Mr. Wood, in the new edition of his history of Long Island, states Mr. Brewster's settlement to have been in 1665. — [*Sketch of the First Settlement of the Several Towns on Long Island*. By Silas Wood. Brooklyn, New York, 1828 ; p. 33.]

No. XIV. (p. 10.)

THE College at Cambridge (says Hutchinson, I. p. 171,) became more and more an object of attention, and in the year 1650 was made a body corporate by Act of the General Court, and received a charter under the seal of the Colony.

Under this Charter the College was governed until the year 1635, when the Colony Charter was vacated, saving that in 1673, by an order of the General Court, some addition was made to the number of the Corporation. Mr. Dudley (who was a son of the College) when he received a commission for President of the Colony altered the title of the President of the College for that of Rector, but no attempts were made to take away the estate or stock of the College or to impose officers disagreeable to the country in general, but the government continued, in name at least, under the former Corporation, who were Increase Mather, Rector, John Sherman, Nehemiah Hubbard, John Cotton, John Leverett, and William Brattle as Fellows (the last two were Tutors also) and John Richards, Treasurer. When Mr. Mather, the Rector, went to England in 1688, in his minutes of an intended petition to the King, he says, "that when the civil government was changed, the College was under the inspection of these persons, and he supposed it continued so, except that Mr. Sherman was dead, in whose room he prayed Mr. Samuel Sewall might be appointed, and that the King would confirm the government in their hands; but although these were in name the Governors, they were not always so in fact." I find the following original order, dated December the 9th, 1686.

"**WHEREAS** the monies and other estate belonging to Harvard College in Cambridge, has been by us committed to the care and management of John Richards, Esq. for the benefit of the said College, it is ordered, that the produce thereof shall for this year, 1686, be disposed of as followeth.

"1st. There shall be allowed to the present Rector of the College, as some acknowledgment of the services which he has done for that Society, the remainder of the income not disposed underneath.

"2d. The present Tutors, Mr. John Leverett and Mr. William Brattle, shall for this year, beginning the last Commencement, be

allowed each of them £40 beside what shall be due to them from their several pupils.

“3d. The scholars of the house (for this year) shall be Sir Gibbs, Rogers, Mitchel, and Dudley, who shall be allowed each of them at least £5. Sir Gibbs’s pension to be paid out of Mr. Webb’s legacy, and Rogers’s out of Capt. Keyn’s legacy.

“4th. Major Richards shall be allowed for his care, in improving the College stock, after the proportion of £1 for £100.

“ J. Dudley,

“ William Stoughton.”

The President of the Colony, and afterwards the Governor, assumed the whole authority when they thought fit. The rights of Magdalen College Oxford invaded, justly might alarm the whole nation, but Harvard College was too inconsiderable, had the proceedings been ever so arbitrary and oppressive, to occasion any great notice. Mr. Mather, the Rector, went to England in 1688. No person was appointed in his stead. Sir E. Andros, the Governor, wrote to Mr. Samuel Lee, the minister of Bristol in New-Plymouth colony, to desire him to officiate at the Commencement ; but not receiving an answer in proper season (it seems the letter was delayed) Mr. William Hubbard was appointed, and officiated accordingly. In 1692, upon the arrival of the Province Charter, although by a clause in the Charter with a special view to the College, it was provided, that no grants, &c. to any towns, colleges, schools of learning, &c. should be prejudiced through defect of form, &c. but should remain in force as at the time of vacating the Colony Charter ; yet the Président, and many others with him, were desirous of a new Charter, with additional powers and privileges. An Act, of the General Court, passed for that purpose in 1692, incorporating the College on a larger foundation than the former Charter. Among other things, the College was enabled to confer such degrees as are conferred by the Universities in Europe, whereas under the former Charter no higher degrees had been given than those of Bachelors and Masters of Arts. This privilege was exercised in one instance only, a diploma for a doctorate, under the College seal, being presented to Mr. Mather the President. Before the expiration of three years the Act of Incorporation was disallowed. Those who interested themselves for the College were resolved upon further attempts ; another Provincial Act, passed in 1697, with some variations, which before 1700 was likewise disapproved ; for at a session of the Court, that

year, a vote passed the Council and House of Representatives approving the form of a Charter which they were willing the College should accept from the King, and I make no doubt the agents were instructed to endeavour to obtain a Charter in such form. By this Charter, the Corporation was to consist of a President, Vice-President, and fifteen Fellows. It may not be unacceptable to some to have their names preserved. Increase Mather, President, Samuel Willard, Vice-President, James Allen, Michael Wigglesworth, Samuel Torrey, Nehemiah Hobart, Peter Thacher, Samuel Angier, John Danforth, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter, Henry Gibbs, John White, Jonathan Pierpoint, and Benjamin Wadsworth, together with the two senior Tutors resident at College, were the first Corporation named in the Charter. The College was empowered to hold real estate to the amount of three thousand pounds per annum. The Governor and the Council were made the visitors. This application proved as ineffectual as the former. The true reason, of the several failures, appears from a letter of Mr. Blaithwaite to the President, dated 1st June 1704, which says, "that the only obstruction to the passing the Charter was Sir Henry Ashurst's refusing to allow of a clause for a visitation by the King or his Governor." A letter from Lord Bellamont to Mr. Stoughton upon this subject deserves notice.

"New York, 31st May, '98.

"Sir, I received a letter from the reverend President of Harvard College, by Mr. White, Fellow of the said College, together with a copy of an Act of the Assembly for incorporating the College. And I am of opinion, that his Majesty will not give his royal approbation to that act as it stands worded, because it differs very materially from the terms of incorporation proposed by their excellencies the Lords Justices of England, viz. that the King and his Governors should be the visitors, whereas the Act of Assembly vests the power of visitation of that College as well in the Council as Governor, which his Majesty may probably think derogatory to his prerogative. And I am apprehensive also, that those noble Lords who, under the title of Lords Justices of England, lately exercised the royal authority, will confirm his Majesty that it will be a diminution to the prerogative of the crown, to make the Council co-ordinate in the power of visitation with the King's Governor. — For my own part I have a very great respect for the King's prerogative, but I could wish a way were found to secure

the statutes or privileges of Harvard College against the capricious humour of future Governors, who, out of prejudice to the way of worship used there, or for some sinister ends, may be vexatious to the College. There is great difference between the exercise of the prerogative in England and in these remote parts of his Majesty's dominions. There, the subject, whenever that exercise is abused, has the King, the fountain of justice, near at hand to recur to for redress. In these Provinces, Governors, I fear by what I have discovered since my being in America, are made bold and presumptuous in breaking the laws and governing arbitrarily, out of conceit that their being so far from under the eye of the government of England will be a sure cause of impunity to them. Therefore upon the whole matter, I must in judgment and conscience declare for a qualification of the power of a Governor in the case of the visitation of Harvard College, but what that qualification should be, I must leave to his Majesty's wisdom and goodness to determine.

" I am,

" Sir, your most humble servant,

" BELLAMONT."

To the Honourable
Wm. Stoughton, Esq. &c.

During these attempts, until advice of the respective Acts being disallowed, the College was governed conformable to them. While no Acts were in force, temporary orders passed the General Court from time to time, empowering such persons to act as a Corporation as were therein named. But in 1707, all prospect of a new foundation being gone, it was thought proper to resort to the old, and the Charter of 1650 hath been conformed to ever since. The several heads of the College, from its first establishment to this day, have been as follows. Mr. Eaton, appointed in 1638, continued until 1640, when Mr. Henry Dunster was appointed, who was succeeded by Mr. Charles Chauncy in 1654, who continued until 1671. Doctor Leonard Hoar succeeded Mr. Chauncy. Douglass says, Mr. Hoar was a doctor of physick from Cambridge in Old England. He was educated at Cambridge in New England, and took his Bachelor's degree in 1650, went over to England in November 1653, was made a Doctor at Cambridge, and returned not long before he was elected July 30, 1672. The students were too much indulged in their prejudices against him, and he was obliged to resign March 15, 1674-5. His wife was daughter to

Lord Lisle. Mr. Urian Oakes, minister of Cambridge, was his successor, and continued from April 7, 1675, until his death in 1681. Mr. Mather was chosen by the Corporation and confirmed by the Overseers, and moderated at the masters' disputations, and conferred the degrees at the Commencement in 1681; but his church in Boston being unwilling to part with him, on April 20th, 1682, Mr. John Rogers was chosen and confirmed, but died in 1684, being suddenly seized the morning of Commencement, July 1st, and dying the next day. Mr. William Hubbard of Ipswich moderated at the publick exercises. Mr. Mather succeeded Mr. Rogers, and continued at the head of the College until September 6, 1701. Mr. Samuel Willard, by order of Court, officiated several years as Vice-President, no President being appointed instead of Mr. Mather, until Mr. John Leverett was by the Governor, at the head of the Overseers, declared President, January 14, 1707, and the College was put under his care "agreeable to the choice of the Fellows of the house, approbation of the Overseers, and votes of the Council and Assembly in their last preceding session. The Governor directing him to govern that house and the scholars there with duty and allegiance to our sovereign lady the Queen and obedience to her Majesty's laws." Mr. Leverett continued in the presidentship until his death in 1724. Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, a minister of one of the churches in Boston, succeeded him. He died in 1737, and was succeeded by Mr. Holyoke, who continues in the presidentship at this time. — [*Hutchinson's Hist. L.* pp. 171 – 175, note.]

No. XV. (p. 10.)

THE Constitution of Harvard College : —

1. The Colonial Act of 1642. Vide ante, page 9th of this Appendix.

2. The Charter of 1650. Vide ante, page 11th, of this Appendix.

3. Appendix to the Charter of 1650. Vide ante, page 14th of this Appendix.

4. *The articles of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, confirming and securing to Harvard College, the perpetual possession, and enjoyment of all its estates, rights, powers, and privileges. [A. D. 1780.]*

CHAPTER V.

SECTION I.

The University.

Article 1. Whereas our wise and pious ancestors, so early as the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, laid the foundation of Harvard College, in which University, many persons of great eminence have, by the blessing of God, been initiated into those arts and sciences, which qualified them for public employments, both in Church and State ; and whereas the encouragement of arts and sciences, and all good literature, tends to the honor of God, the advantage of the Christian religion, and the great benefit of this, and the other United States of America — It is declared, that the President and Fellows of Harvard College in their corporate capacity, and their successors in that capacity, their officers and servants, shall have, hold, use, exercise and enjoy, all the powers, authorities, rights, liberties, privileges, immunities and franchises, which they now have, or are entitled to have, hold, use, exercise and enjoy : And the same are hereby ratified and confirmed unto them, the said President and Fellows of Harvard College, and to their successors, and to their officers and servants, respectively, for ever.

Article 2. And whereas there have been, at sundry times, by divers persons, gifts, grants, devises of houses, lands, tenements, goods, chattels, legacies, and conveyances, heretofore made, either to Harvard College in Cambridge in New England, or to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, or to the said College by some other description, under several Charters successively : It is declared, that all the said gifts, grants, devises, legacies and conveyances, are hereby for ever confirmed unto the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and to their successors in the capacity aforesaid, according to the true intent and meaning of the donor, or donors, grantor or grantors, devisor or devisors.

Article 3. And whereas by an Act of the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, passed in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-two, the Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, and all the magistrates of that jurisdiction were, with the President, and a number of the clergy in the said Act described, constituted the Overseers of Harvard College : And it being necessary, in this new constitution of government, to ascertain who shall be deemed successors to the said Governor, Deputy Governor and magistrates ; It is declared, that the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Senate of this Commonwealth are, and shall be deemed their successors ; who, with the President of Harvard College, for the time being, together with the ministers of the Congregational churches, in the towns of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester, mentioned in the said Act, shall be, and hereby are vested, with all the powers and authority belonging, or in any way appertaining to the Overseers of Harvard College. Provided, that nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the Legislature of this Commonwealth from making such alterations in the government of the said University, as shall be conducive to its advantage, and the interest of the republic of letters, in as full a manner, as might have been done by the Legislature of the late Province of Massachusetts Bay.

5. *The Statute of the Commonwealth, anno 1809, ch. 113, entitled an " Act to alter and amend the Constitution of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College."*

Whereas the members of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, as heretofore constituted, cannot conveniently nor con-

stantly attend to the diligent discharge of the duties enjoined on it :

Section 1. Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Counselors, President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth, and the President of Harvard College for the time being, with fifteen ministers of Congregational churches, and fifteen laymen, all inhabitants within the state, to be elected as is herein after mentioned, shall forever hereafter constitute the Board of Overseers of Harvard College; they, or the major part of them, present at any legal meeting, to exercise and enjoy all the rights, powers, and privileges, and to be subject to all the duties of the existing Board of Overseers of Harvard College: Provided however, that all the ministers of Congregational churches who are members of that Board shall remain members of the Board of Overseers established by this Act, so long as they shall continue ministers respectively of their Congregational churches, and no longer.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, That as soon as conveniently may be, after this Act shall be in force, the present Secretary of the Board of Overseers, or, if that office be vacant, the President, or a major part of the Fellows of Harvard College, shall call a meeting of the Overseers of Harvard College, to be holden at some suitable time and place, for electing fifteen laymen, inhabitants of the State, to be members of the Board of Overseers; the said meeting to be notified by publishing the time and place of holding the same, in each of the public newspapers printed in Boston, ten days at the least before the time of holding the same; and the said elections to be made by ballot, by the major part of the Overseers present: And all persons who then, if this Act had not been in force, would have been members of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, shall have right to meet and vote in the said elections.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, That the Board of Overseers, as constituted by this Act, may, at any legal meeting, choose by a majority of votes, a Secretary, when that office shall be vacant, who shall be under oath truly to record all the votes and proceedings of the Board, and faithfully to discharge all the duties of his office; and the said Board may, at any legal meeting, by a majority of votes, determine from time to time, when and in what

manner its meetings shall be held, called and notified ; and at any legal meeting of the said Board, the Governor, if present, shall preside ; if not, the Lieutenant Governor, if present, shall preside ; in their absence, the oldest member of the Council present shall preside ; if they also be absent, the President of the Senate shall preside, if present ; but in his absence also, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall preside ; and if neither of them be present, the greater part of the Overseers present at such meeting shall choose a President pro tempore, and until one of the officers aforesaid shall be present : Provided nevertheless, that the Secretary of the Overseers shall have power to call a meeting of the said Board, at such times as he shall be thereto requested by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, such meeting to be notified as the said Board shall direct.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, That when any minister of any Congregational church, being a member of the said Board, shall cease to have the ministerial relation he now has, or may have had at the time of his election ; or when any member of the elective part of the said Board, shall remove out of the State, the place of such minister or member shall thereupon become vacant. And the said Board may at any legal meeting, by a vote of the greater number present, remove from his place any member of the elective part of the said Board, who shall neglect to attend the meetings thereof, without reasonable excuse, when duly notified, or who by his immoral conduct shall have rendered himself unworthy of holding his place ; but before any vote shall pass to remove any member, he shall have reasonable notice, and a fit opportunity to be heard in his defence.

Section 5. Be it further enacted, That for establishing a perpetual succession in the elective part of the said Board, whenever a vacancy shall happen therein, by death, resignation, or otherwise, the Overseers may, at a legal meeting, by a majority of the votes present, fill up such vacancy, by electing therefor some suitable person, who shall be an inhabitant of the State. Provided however, that no minister of any Congregational church shall be so elected, when there are fifteen ministers of Congregational churches, members of the elective part of the said Board ; nor shall any layman be so elected, when there are fifteen laymen members of the elective part of the said Board ; but in all cases, when there are fifteen ministers and fifteen laymen members of the elective part of the said Board, there shall not be deemed to be any vacancy therein.

Section 6. Be it further enacted, That this Act shall be in force when the Overseers of Harvard College, as heretofore constituted, and the President and Fellows of Harvard College shall agree to accept the provisions in this Act contained.

In the House of Representatives, March 5, 1810,

This bill, having had three several readings, passed to be enacted,

TIMOTHY BIGELOW, *Speaker.*

In Senate, March 6, 1810,

This bill, having had two several readings, passed to be enacted,

H. G. OTIS, *President.*

March 6, 1810,

Approved, C. GORE.

At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College in Boston, March 16, 1810,

The President, having laid before the President and Fellows of Harvard College an exemplification, under the great seal of the Commonwealth, of a certain Act passed by the General Court at the last session thereof, entitled, "An Act to alter and amend the Constitution of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College," in the sixth section of which act, it is enacted as follows: "This Act shall be in force when the Overseers of Harvard College, as heretofore constituted, and the President and Fellows of Harvard College shall agree to accept the provisions in this Act contained;" and the said Act having been read, and the provisions therein duly considered, it is unanimously voted,

That the President and Fellows of Harvard College do agree to accept the provisions in the said Act contained; and it is further voted,

That the President be requested to lay the aforesaid vote before the Honourable and Reverend the Board of Overseers of Harvard College.

Attest, SAMUEL WEBBER, *President.*

At a meeting of the Overseers of Harvard College, April 12, 1810, the proceedings of the Corporation and Act of the Legislature above stated being laid before the Board, the Board voted to accept the provisions in said Act contained.

JOHN LATHROP, *Secretary.*

6. It will be observed, that the Act of 1809, chapter 113, last cited, was not to be in force until the Corporation and Overseers should "agree to accept" the provisions of it; which was accordingly done, as appears by the votes of those two bodies immediately following it. But on the 29th of February, 1812, that Act was repealed by the General Court, without any reservation for the consent of the Overseers and Corporation. The repealing Act is as follows:

An Act to repeal an Act, entitled, "An Act to alter and amend the Constitution of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College," and to regulate certain meetings of that Board.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That an Act made and passed the seventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ten, entitled, "An Act to alter and amend the Constitution of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College," be, and the same is hereby repealed; and the Board of Overseers from and after the passage of this Act shall be constituted in the same way and manner, and be composed of the same persons, and no others, that it would have been, had the same Act never been made or passed.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, That there shall be a meeting of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, as the same will be constituted after the passing of this Act, on the second Wednesday of the first session of the General Court, annually, in the Senate Chamber, at three o'clock in the afternoon, unless otherwise ordered by the said Board of Overseers, if the General Court shall remain so long in session; and at such other times and places as the said Board shall order; at which annual meeting it shall be the duty of the Secretary of said Board, at the first meeting thereof, to lay before them the records and proceedings of the Corporation of Harvard College, and of the said Board of Overseers, which have been had since the passing of the Act aforesaid, which is hereby repealed, and in like manner all the proceedings which may have been had by said Corporation and Board of Overseers shall be laid before them, at their next succeeding meeting, to be held agreeably to the provisions of this Act.

This important measure, while in progress, was the subject of much discussion; and the following Historical View of the Constitution of the College, was published by vote of the Corporation;

accompanied with the able memorial addressed to the General Court, which is subjoined to it :

THE foundation of Harvard College was laid by the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in September, 1636 ; when the " court agreed to give £100 towards a school or college ; the next court to appoint where and what building." In the year 1637, the college was ordered to be erected at Newtown, and twelve gentlemen were appointed to take order for that college. In May, 1638, the name of Newtown was changed to Cambridge ; and in March, 1638 - 9, it was ordered that the college to be built at Cambridge be called " Harvard College."

In August, 1640, " at a meeting of the magistrates and elders at Boston, the Rev. Henry Dunster was by them invited to accept the place of president of the college, which he accordingly accepted, and to him," by the same persons, " was committed the care and trust of finishing the college buildings and his own lodgings, and the custody of the college stock and such donations as might be added to the increase thereof ;" so that in fact President Dunster executed the duties of a treasurer of the college, which duties the year before had been assigned by the General Court to the Rev. Mr. Shepherd. As the election of president Dunster was previous to the establishment of the Board of Overseers, the appointing him to that office and to the discharge of those duties, by the magistrates and elders, seems to have been without any legal authority.

In the constitution of the Board of Overseers, no authority was given to them to appoint a treasurer of the college ; but they were empowered to " dispose, order, and manage all gifts, legacies, bequests, revenues, lands, and donations, which had been, or afterwards should be conferred, bestowed, or any way should fall or come to the said college." In the charter of the Corporation, or President and Fellows, express provision is made for a treasurer of the college. But by this Charter no Acts of the Corporation were valid until consented to by the Overseers. The inconveniences resulting to the College from a Corporation with powers thus limited were so great, that the President and Fellows do not appear to have exercised their corporate powers, nor the Treasurer to have entered on his office, until after the Appendix to the College Charter granted in the year 1657. Previous to the granting of this Appendix, President Dunster put into the hands of the Overseers his resignation, which was addressed to the General Court of the

Colony of Massachusetts Bay,—and of which a copy is here inserted.

“ The President’s Resignation exhibited to the General Court held at Boston, June 10, 1654.

“ To the worshipful and honored RICHARD BELLINGHAM, Esq. Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, with the rest of the honored Assistants and Deputies in General Court at Boston now assembled.

*“ Worshipful and honored Gentlemen
and faithful Trustees of your Colony,*

“ WHEREAS now at last I understand that the call or invitation I had unto my present business in the College, together with the promises, encouragements, and allurements thereto on Aug. 27, 1640, by about ten Gentlemen, whom I then understood to be Magistrates with Mr. DUDLEY, then Governor, and about sixteen Ministers or Elders, whom I also then took to be, and still from my heart do think to continue the persons that seriously and cordially consult for the welfare of the colony, and that especially in the liberal and learned education of the youth of the country; yet seeing that now I fully understand that the said persons had no authority to do any such act or acts as to give such a call, or to promise any such encouragements or allurements; and besides, seeing there be such laws, orders, or injunctions in part already imposed on the place as be destructive thereto, and that our former laws and orders, by which we have managed our place, be declared illegal and null, so that all possible means of managing our trust to the best end is so either made void, interfering and entangled, or at least questionable and offensive, that whatsoever we do is to myself and the Fellows * unwarrantable and not secure, and with some principles tending to dissolution. To mention no further grounds.

“ Therefore I here resign up the place wherein hitherto I have labored with all my heart, (blessed be the Lord who gave it) serv-

* From the commencement of the College, and for more than half a century the tutors, who with the President, conducted the instruction and immediate government, were called “Fellows of the College.” After the establishment of the Corporation, there were “Fellows of the House or College,” and “resident Fellows,” and “Fellows of the Corporation.” This name is now, and has been for more than sixty years confined to the members of the Corporation.

ing you and yours. And henceforth (that you in the interim may be provided) I shall be willing to do the best I can for some few weeks or months to continue the work, acting according to the orders prescribed to us; if the society in the interim fall not to pieces in our hands; and what advice for the present or for the future I can give for the public good, in this behalf, with all readiness of mind I shall do it, and daily by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, pray the Lord to help and counsel us all, in whom I rest.

“ Yours faithfully to serve,

“ HENRY DUNSTER.”

From this resignation of President Dunster, it appears that he was satisfied, that he was originally introduced to the office by persons not duly authorized; and it also appears that in his view the limitation of the powers in the charter of incorporation would defeat the object of the Charter, and prove destructive to the College.

The resignation of the President being by the Overseers presented to the Court then in session, they authorized the Overseers to accept it; and ordered that the said Board of Overseers should have the care and trust of the College stock. In this year the Court also ordered, that “ Mr. Whiting and Mr. Cobbet, pastors of Dedham and Lynn, and Mr. Norton, an unsettled teacher in Boston, should be Overseers, and join with the rest of the Overseers in the work of the College.” The order respecting the College property seems to have been required by the circumstances then existing; the President, to whom this stock had been entrusted was out of office, and the President and Fellows of the Corporation not having exercised the powers contained in their Charter of Incorporation, there was no Treasurer of the College.

Such was the difficulty attending the attempt to execute powers so restrained, as those in the Charter of 1650, — that in October, 1657, upon the application of the Overseers, the Appendix to the College Charter was established, by which the orders and by-laws of the President and Fellows had immediate force and effect; they being responsible for the same to the Board of Overseers.

Afterwards the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay appear to have intended a new College Charter with much larger powers, including a measure of civil jurisdiction; and passed the Ordinance of 1672, — a copy of which here follows.

“ At the second Session of the General Court for elections held at Boston, 8th of October, 1672, on their adjournment.

“ Whereas by the good hand of God, there has been erected and continued a College in Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, called by the name of ‘ Harvard College,’ and that by an Instrument or Charter, dated the 31st of May, in the year 1650, the President and Fellows thereof were established to be one body corporate by the authority of this Court: And whereas several gifts and donations have been made, and are still making by many well devoted persons, inhabitants of this country, as also strangers, for the maintenance of the Governors and the government thereof, and for all the accommodations of the Scholars thereof, in books, buildings, lectures, scholarships, and all other necessary and fitting provisions, that may conduce to the education of English and Indian youth. Now for the perpetuation and further advancement of so good a work, and for the better encouragement of all persons therein concerned, or to be concerned, it is ordered and enacted by this Court and the authority thereof, that Leonard Hoare, Doctor in Physic, be the present President of said Harvard College, Mr. Samuel Danforth, Fellow of the said College, Mr. Urian Oakes, Pastor of the Church of Cambridge, Mr. Thomas Shepherd, teacher of the Church of Charlestown, Mr. Joseph Brown and Mr. John Richardson, Masters of Art, be the Fellows, and Mr. John Richards the Treasurer of the said College and Corporation for the time being; and that the President, Fellows, and Treasurer of the said College, or the Fellows alone, when there is no President established, and their successors from time to time be the immediate Governors thereof, and shall in name and fact for ever hereafter be one body politic and corporate in law, to all intents and purposes, and shall have perpetual succession, having power and authority by these presents, (procuring a meeting of the Overseers, and by their council and consent) to elect successors into the places of any one or more of them which shall be by death or removal made vacant:— Be it also hereby authorized and enacted, that the said Corporation and their successors shall have the power of constituting, and again at their pleasure removing all inferior officers to the said Society appertaining, — and all the next and immediate government of every member of the said Society according to such orders and laws as are or shall be established by the said Corporation; the Overseers of the said College allowing or not contradicting the said laws, upon notice of them given

to them at their next meeting. — And also the said Corporation and their successors may purchase and acquire to themselves, or take and receive upon free gift any lands, tenements, hereditaments, annuities, services, goods, monies, or other emoluments whatsoever, or from whomsoever, and (observing strictly the will of the donors) dispose of the same to the use and behoof of the said College or any members thereof; and the President may warn a general meeting of the said Corporation for debating any of the affairs aforesaid. — In all which cases the conclusion shall be made by the major part present, the President having a casting voice. And that the said Corporation with their distinct Treasurer (if any such be chosen) by the name of the President, Fellows, and Treasurer of Harvard College, may sue and plead, or be sued or impleaded in all Courts or places of judicature within this jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Colony, to all intents and purposes in law and with effect, as may any private person or body incorporate; only the estate to the Corporation belonging, and not that which belongs proper to any member of the said Corporation, being liable to such impleadments: also that the said Corporation, or any three of them, the President being one, in all crimes by the laws of this country punishable by one magistrate, shall have the full power of sconsing, fining, or otherwise correcting, all inferior officers or members to the said Society belonging, as the laws of the country provide in such cases, or the laws of the College not repugnant unto them: and for that end any of the said Corporation shall, and hereby have power personally with such aid of the Society as they shall think meet, taking the constable along with them, to enter into any houses licensed for public entertainment, where they shall be informed, or may be suspicious of any enormities to be plotting or acting by any members of their Society; and all constables and all other inferior civil officers in that place are hereby authorized and commanded to be readily aiding and assisting to them, or any of them in the premises. Neither shall any person or persons legally expelled the College, abide above ten days in the township of Cambridge, unless their parents live in the said township. And be it also ordered and enacted by this Court and the authority thereof, that all the lands, tenements, hereditaments, or annuities within this jurisdiction, to the said Corporation appertaining, not exceeding the value of five hundred pounds per annum, shall be henceforth freed from all ordinary civil impositions, taxes, and rates, and all goods to the said Corporation, or to any scholars

thereof appertaining, shall be exempted from all manner of toll, customs and excise whatsoever, except in cases of war, or extraordinary exigencies of the country. And moreover that the said President, Fellows, and Scholars, together with their menial servants, and other necessary officers, (not exceeding the number of ten) shall be utterly exempted from all personal and civil offices, military exercises, watchings and wardings, or the like public services: And the personal estates of the said Corporation and their officers (not exceeding one hundred pounds a man) shall be also freed from the like country taxes for ever: All and every of which premises we do ordain and enact to be fully established for law, any law, grant or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

But there is no evidence that the President and Fellows ever accepted this charter, or acted under it. They never assumed the name there designated of President, Fellows, and Treasurer of Harvard College, but acted under the name by which they were originally incorporated.

Thus stood the government of Harvard College as established by law until the colony charter was vacated in the year 1685.

From this time to the granting of the provincial charter of William and Mary in the year 1691, no successful attempts were made to take away the property of the College or defeat its chartered rights, and it continued chiefly under the former Corporation. The title of President of the College was changed to that of Rector, by Mr. Dudley, the president of the colony under king James II. The president of the colony, either with or without his council, sometimes interfered in the government of the College, probably claiming to be successors to the governor, deputy governor, and magistrates of the old colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The provincial charter of 1691 secured to the College its property, as is shown by the following extracts.

Extracts from the Charter granted to the Province of Massachusetts Bay, by King William and Queen Mary, bearing date the seventh of October, in the third year of their reign, anno 1691.

" Provided nevertheless, and we do for us, our heirs, and successors, grant and ordain, that all and every such lands, tenements, hereditaments, and all other estates, which any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, towns, villages, colleges, or schools, do hold and enjoy, or ought to hold and enjoy, within the bounds

aforesaid, by, or under any grant or estate duly made, or granted by any general court formerly held, or by virtue of the letters patent herein before recited, or by any other lawful right or title whatsoever shall be, by such person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, towns, villages, colleges, or schools, their respective heirs, successors and assigns, for ever hereafter held and enjoyed, according to the intent and purport of such respective grant.—

— “ And we do further, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant to the said governor, and the great and general court of our said province or territory, or assembly, for the time being, full power and authority, from time to time, to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes, and ordinances, directions and instructions, either with penalties or without, (so as the same be not repugnant or contrary to the laws of this our realm of England) as they shall judge to be for the good and welfare of our said province or territory, and for the government and ordering thereof, and of the people inhabiting, or who shall inhabit the same ; and for the necessary support and defence of the government thereof.”

After the grant of the provincial charter, the friends of the college, desiring additional powers and privileges for the institution, and apprehensive of danger to it from the interference of the governor appointed by the king, made several attempts to obtain a new charter for the college. It is stated that three several acts of the legislature passed for that purpose, in which the Board of Overseers was omitted, and, as a substitution therefor, the number of the Corporation was enlarged. But all these attempts proved abortive by the disapprobation of the king in council, grounded upon the proposed charter's not providing for a visitation of the king by his governor. To remove this objection, in the act sent over in 1697, passed under the administration of Lieutenant Governor Stoughton, and in another said to be made in 1700, the governor and council were made Visitors, but this was not satisfactory.

After the failure of these attempts, the friends of the college found it necessary to proceed pursuant to the powers, which had been exercised under the colony of Massachusetts Bay ; and upon the election of President Leverett, a declaration of the provincial legislature was obtained, as follows.

Extract from a Resolve of the Provincial General Court.

Anno Regni Annæ Reginæ Sexto.

*Thursday, December 4th, 1707.**In Council.*

“ And inasmuch as the first foundation and establishment of that House, the Corporation and the Government thereof, had its original from an act of the General Court, made and passed in the year 1650, which has not been repealed or nulled, the President and Fellows of said College are directed, from time to time, to regulate themselves according to the rules of the constitution, by the act prescribed, and to exercise the powers and authority thereby granted, for the government of that House and support thereof.

“ *Saturday, December 6th, 1707.*

“ The representatives returned the vote, passed in Council, the 4th current, referring to the College, with their concurrence thereunto. — By his Excellency the Governor consented to,

“ JOSEPH DUDLEY.”

The governor, lieutenant governor, and council assumed to be successors to the governor, deputy governor, and magistrates of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and with the congregational ministers of the six towns originally designated, exercised the powers of overseers so long as the character of William and Mary existed.

Under that charter no alteration was made by the provincial legislature in the government of the College, although one or two attempts for that purpose were made ; but they were not consented to by the Corporation, and were not carried into effect. The first attempt was in 1722 to enlarge the number of the Corporation, so that the resident Fellows or Tutors might be included ; which enlargement was applied for by the Overseers. The other attempt was made soon after, in which it was proposed as a standing law that some of the resident Tutors should *ex officio* be fellows of the Corporation. These proposed alterations were not agreed to by the Corporation and were not sanctioned by the legislature.

During the existence of the provincial charter, one case only appears to have arisen, in which the Overseers exercised original jurisdiction in removing a Fellow and Tutor from his place, not confining themselves to approving or annulling the proceedings of the Corporation. The President and three of the Tutors presented a complaint to the Overseers against Nathan Prince, one of the Tutors and also a Fellow of the Corporation, charging him with contemptuous and reproachful language respecting the President and others in the immediate government of the College ; with neglect

of his duty as a Tutor, and with intemperance in drinking. Upon this complaint he was by the Overseers removed from all the offices he held in the College, and the Corporation were requested to fill up the vacancies occasioned by his removal. The causes of this singular procedure of the Overseers will appear by the following vote of the Corporation, passed when they agreed to supply the vacancies, as requested, which is as follows.

At a Meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College in Cambridge, by adjournment, April 27, 1742.

Present, The President,	Dr. Wigglesworth,
Mr. Flynt,	Mr. Appleton,
Dr. Sewall,	Mr. Treasurer.

“Whereas the Honorable and Reverend the Overseers of Harvard College did, upon the 18th day of February last past, vote the removal of Mr. Nathan Prince (one of the Fellows and Tutors of said College) from all office-relation thereto, on account of sundry crimes and misdemeanors whereof he was convicted before them, and which he had been charged with at said Board, by some of the Corporation, as well as the Tutors of said College; and also did then recommend it to the Corporation to fill up the vacancies made by the said Mr. Prince's removal: And although we apprehend that (according to the Constitution of said Harvard College) affairs of this nature ought to originate with the Corporation, yet in as much as, so many of the Corporation have been either complainants against the said Prince, or have been aspersed and maltreated by him, as that there is not left a majority of said Corporation, who may be thought by him, or by others (as we understand) to be indifferent judges, in this affair; and inasmuch as we apprehend, that under all circumstances, it will not be for the interest and peace of the said College, that he should continue any longer in office therein, Therefore (saving all rights given to the Corporation by their charter,) they passed the following votes:

“1. That Mr. Joseph Mahew be a Fellow of the Corporation in the room of the said Mr. Prince.

“2. That Mr. Belcher Hancock be a Tutor of said College in the room of the said Mr. Prince, and that for three years, and be the fourth Tutor in order.

“3. That the two foregoing votes be presented to the Honourable and Reverend the Overseers, at their next meeting for their approbation.”

When the Constitution of the Commonwealth was formed, it was deemed expedient to give a constitutional confirmation of the government of the College. Afterwards the act of 1809, ch. 113,* passed the legislature providing for the amendment and alteration of the constitution of the Board of Overseers, with the consent of the Overseers and Corporation, which consent was afterwards given, and the Board of Overseers was organized, and exercised its powers pursuant to said statute.

The Corporation being informed that in the winter session of the General Court in 1812 a bill was pending for repealing the last statute, presented to the legislature a memorial, containing reasons against that repeal, which memorial here follows.

“ To the Honovrable the Senate and the Honourable the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully represent the President and Fellows of Harvard College, in behalf of the Corporation and Overseers of said College,

“ That having learned, that a bill was pending before the Honourable Senate of this Commonwealth, for the repeal of a statute, passed in March, 1810, † establishing a Board of Overseers for the said College, your memorialists presented a memorial to the two Houses, praying a postponement of the bill aforesaid, until the two Boards, which constitute the college-government, could have opportunity to be heard before the legislature, or a committee of the same, on this important subject. Since which, your momo-rialists have been informed, that the bill has passed the Honourable Senate, and is now pending before the Honorable House of Representatives. Though your memorialists have not been indulged with the notice and opportunity requested, yet they presume, that the Honourable Legislature will allow your memorialists, in the present stage of the proceedings, to offer such considerations and arguments, relating to the proposed act, as your memorialists may think their relation to the College, and the request of the Overseers made for this purpose may require, and as the interesting nature of the subject may appear to them to justify. The following is a summary view of the facts and reasonings, which your memorialists beg leave to submit to the attention of the Honourable Legislature.

* Vide ante, page 77.]

† This statute is also called the act of the Commonwealth Anno 1089, ch. 113, dating by the legislative year, from May to May.

“The Overseers of Harvard College were originally constituted by an act of the General Court of the old colony of Massachusetts, passed in 1642. By this act it is ordered, that the governor, deputy governor, and all the magistrates of the jurisdiction, with the president of the College, and the teaching elders of the six adjoining towns, Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, shall be Overseers, with power to direct the government, and dispose and manage the property of the institution. Afterwards, in May, 1650, the Corporation was created, to consist of a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer, and styled the President and Fellows of Harvard College. The charter declares, that the Corporation shall have perpetual succession, by the election of members to supply vacancies ; the Corporation procuring the presence, and having the counsel and consent of the Overseers. The whole property and concerns of the College are committed to this Corporation, subject, generally, to the control of the Overseers. By an act passed October, one thousand six hundred and fifty-seven, called an Appendix to the College-charter, certain powers were enlarged and explained. On the repeal of the charter of the colony, attempts were also made to defeat all the chartered rights derived from it, but without success. By the province charter, granted 1691, the property of colleges, among other bodies politic, is confirmed to them. Of necessity, with respect to Harvard College, the Corporation, holding the property of the College, is confirmed ; and it appears, that the President and Fellows proceeded to exercise their powers as before the vacation of the colony charter. To prevent, however, any further question on these points, a resolution of the provincial legislature was passed in December, 1707, which recognized the continued existence of the Corporation, as established by the charter of 1650, declaring that, “said charter had never been repealed or nulled.” It appears that the royal governor and lieutenant governor, and the provincial council, succeeded to the colonial governor, deputy governor, and magistrates of the colony, as Overseers, with the congregational ministers of the six adjoining towns.

“Your memorialists conceive, that these are the legislative and public acts, on which the foundation and government of the College rest. The colonial General Court passed an ordinance in October, 1672, now on the records of the court, providing for a new charter for the College, with very extensive and important powers, both civil and collegiate ; and enacting that the provisions of that ordi-

nance should be law, any law, grant, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding. But, in fact, there remains no evidence that the Corporation ever accepted this Charter, or exercised any of the powers therein granted, and it is not on the records either of the Overseers or Corporation. The Provincial Legislature in 1692, and shortly afterwards, made some attempts to give a very ample establishment to the College, which were defeated by the negative of the King. But after all these attempts, the Provincial Legislature, in 1707, passed the resolution above-mentioned, that the former Charter of the College of 1650 had not been repealed or nulled.

“ Thus stood the government of the College and the power of visitation, until the State constitution was formed. This instrument recognized and confirmed the Corporation as erected by its original Charter, and designated the successors to the former Overseers; a measure made necessary by the change of government in the State. The article appointing the Overseers, is concluded with a proviso, that nothing therein declared ‘shall be construed to prevent the Legislature of the Commonwealth from making alterations in the government of the University, conducive to its advantage, and the interest of the republic of letters, in as full a manner as might have been done by the Legislature of the late Province of Massachusetts Bay.’ It is believed, by your memorialists, that this proviso had particular respect to alterations, which, it was supposed, experience would prove necessary or expedient in the Board of Overseers.

“ In the year 1810, a statute was made, altering the Constitution of the Overseers, and appointing to that office the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Counsellors, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the President of the College, with fifteen laymen, and fifteen ministers of Congregational churches, after the ministers who belonged to the Board as before constituted should be reduced to this number; the succession of the thirty last mentioned members to be supplied, as vacancies shall happen, by the election of the Board.

“ The Corporation, in explaining the reasons of their assent to this statute, observe, ‘they were sensible of the wisdom and good dispositions of that part of the former Board, whose relation to it would cease by the new arrangement, and of the dignity derived to the University from their association; yet they were persuaded, that most important benefits would accrue to the Seminary, from a body of Overseers, coming not incidentally and

casually to the duty ; but chosen as vacancies should occur, with special reference to the object ; and whose local situation and permanent connexion with the University would enable them to pay a prompt and uniform attention to its concerns. At the same time, by the plan proposed, the College would obtain this improvement, without ceasing to enjoy the singular distinction and benefit of an immediate alliance with the State, by means of its constituted authorities, having the supreme executive, and the presiding officers of the two houses always in the board.' It cannot be denied that the members of the Senate must necessarily, as a body, be under disadvantages for the efficient and regular discharge of many of the duties of Overseers. Their connexion with the University depending on the contingency of an annual election, must, it is apprehended, have some effect to discourage a disposition to enter thoroughly, and systematically, into the affairs of the establishment. The distance of a large portion of the Senate must prevent their attendance at meetings for College business, except during a session of the Legislature ; and then, it is frequently inconvenient, on account of the pressure of public business. For these reasons, it may, without any imputation on that honourable body, be admitted, that their sense of responsibility, as Overseers, might be less than the intrinsic importance of the trust would seem to require, and their means of serving the institution unequal to their wishes.

“ The inconveniences here mentioned, were certainly realized, in no inconsiderable degree, under the former constitution of the Board ; and in times, when no political prejudice or feeling could possibly bias the judgment, persons well acquainted with the subject, in and out of the Senate, expressed a decided opinion in favor of a change in the constitution of the Board of Overseers, similar to that which was made in 1810. For whilst individuals of the former Board had it in their power to give their attention to College concerns, the regular meetings of the Board, and especially of the committees for inquiring into the state of the College, and particularly for examinations, were frequently so little attended by the gentlemen on the civil list, as to deduct very much from the good effect of these public occasions, on the minds of the students, and on the general interests of the institution. In these respects a manifest and important improvement has attended the change in the form of the Board. The stated appearance of full committees, to observe the condition of the College, and to witness the exhibi-

tions, and ascertain the proficiency of the scholars, has contributed to inspire the pupils with a laudable ambition, and to increase a sense of responsibility for the use of their advantages, whilst the governors and instructors have derived much assistance and encouragement from this portion of the academic body.

“As the expediency of this alteration seems manifest, so its compatability with the rights of the respective Boards, is, in the view of your memorialists, unquestionable. The legislature were careful to preserve the ancient foundation of the College unimpaired, and to prevent all ground for the apprehension, that the chartered privileges of the College are less sacred in the eyes of the present generation than they have been in those of our predecessors. They made this alteration in such a manner that the legal rights of the College could not be injuriously affected; for they annexed to the Act the condition, that it should go into effect when the provisions of it should be accepted by the two College Boards. It is a principle admitted, that a Corporation may, with its consent, be altered by a Legislature not specially or constitutionally restricted. For several reasons it was considered, that this principle must be applied in the present instance, and that without the consent of the Boards, the alteration could not be made. It occurred, that, so far as the constitution is concerned, the powers of the College government rest on the same foundation, and have the same authority as the powers of the Legislature. This Constitution reserves to the Legislature so much control over the College government, as respects the Overseers, as might have been exercised by the Provincial Legislature. In regard to the extent of this control, the Provincial Legislature, it is believed, could not make the alteration proposed without the assent of the existing College government, for the College was established by the same Province Charter, by which the Legislature was created. The General Court, deriving its authority from the Provincial Charter, could not legally control the rights of others derived from the same Charter, since this would be to rescind a part of the Charter, which was the very foundation of the Legislative powers of the Province, and to annul the very authority by which the General Court existed. Further, the Corporation is admitted, on all hands, to be confirmed by the said Province Charter. But the Corporation, in the exercise of its powers, was subject to the control of a board of visitors, designated by the same authority by which it was created. To this control the said Corporation must,

of right, submit; and, without its own consent, to no other control whatever. To establish any other control over this body, would be an alteration of its power, to which no authority is competent, unless it can lawfully annihilate the Corporation. These and other principles could not fail to be considered as fixing boundaries to the power of the Provincial Legislature over the College government. If even the rights of the College had not been confirmed by the Charter of William and Mary, and if the Corporation had been created by the General Court, established by that Charter, whose powers were not expressly limited by any declaration of rights, it could not then be admitted that the Legislature of the late Province of Massachusetts Bay could legally alter the powers of the Corporation without its consent, unless it could be admitted that the same Legislature could legally repeal its own grants, and annul the right of any inhabitants derived from such grants. — The reasoning, to which the several views of the subject led, is confirmed by the practice of a century. The General Court have confirmed and enlarged, but never impaired or abridged the powers of the College government. Whenever the question arose, they appear to have put the same construction upon their powers of alteration, which the Legislature, who passed the statute of 1809, adopted: For example, in 1722, the Overseers petitioned that the Corporation might be enlarged; but the Corporation not consenting, the House of Representatives refused to grant the petition.* Attempts were afterwards made to persuade the General Court to exercise the visitatorial power, and to interfere with the doings of the Overseers, but without effect.

“ On these grounds the Legislature were anxious, when in 1810 they purposed to give the College the benefit of an improved constitution of the Board of Overseers, to save all the chartered rights of the College. The former Board, under the Legislative sanction, divested themselves of their trust in favor of the present Overseers. These Overseers, it is believed, have succeeded to all the rights and powers which belonged to their predecessors in the same office; and hold these rights and powers by a permanent tenure, subject only to the implied condition of a faithful execution of the trust. The proviso in the third article of the fifth chapter of the Constitution of the State, which reserves to the Legislature the same power in respect to the government of the College, as

* Records of the Overseers, 1722.

pertained to the Legislature of the late Province, must in any interpretation include a power extending to such alterations in the Board of Overseers as should be made with the consent of both the College Boards, on whom such alteration was to operate. Such consent having been provided for by the statute of 1809, and given by the said Boards, the Corporators created pursuant to said Act have, as your memorialists believe, acquired rights, of which they cannot be deprived, but by their own consent, or by some legal process, founded on a charge of misbehaviour. But if it should be admitted that the Legislature have authority by the Constitution to make alterations without consent, yet this authority must extend to permanent as well as temporary alterations, and the statute of 1809, having made a permanent alteration, the Legislature have exercised the powers reserved to them by the Constitution of the State.

“ Your memorialists conceive that the present Constitution of the Board of Overseers ought not to be considered as excluding the Commonwealth from its just participation in the government of the University; since the Commonwealth has an immediate relation to it by its constituted authorities, and is truly and virtually represented by the permanent Overseers, who hold their place and trust under authority derived from the Legislature. The Legislature have not thought it any disparagement of the rights of the public to erect other Colleges, indebted like Harvard to the bounty of the State, with select and durable Boards of Trustees or visitors. They cannot be supposed willing to deny an institution, especially committed to their protection and patronage, means of improvement freely bestowed on other Seminaries.

“ Your memorialists are convinced that the University has been conducted with liberality and impartiality, and a steady view to the public good. In regard to the political divisions of the times, they believe that persons best acquainted with the course of instruction and discipline in that place will acquit the College of any attempts to prejudice or unduly excite the youthful mind. — Your memorialists rely on the wisdom and moderation of the Legislature to arrest any measure that may involve the privileges or endanger the stability of an institution, vigilantly guarded and fondly cherished by all preceding generations, since its foundations were laid.

“ In conclusion, your memorialists observe, that whilst they have deemed it necessary to be explicit in stating their views of the rights and interests of the College, they hope no part of this rep-

resentation will be thought to militate with a due deference to that branch of the Legislature particularly included in the consideration of this subject. The attachment of your memorialists to the present Constitution of the Board of Overseers is founded on principles, which your memorialists believe consistent with an entire respect for the Senate of this Commonwealth. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray."

This memorial was presented February 24, 1812.

No. XVI. (pp. 99, 151, 231, 236.)

FOUNDATIONS AND STATUTES OF
PROFESSORSHIPS.

HOLLIS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY.

Rules, Orders, and Statutes, relating to the Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, at Cambridge, in New-England.

1. THAT the Professor be a Master of Arts, and in communion with some Christian Church of one of the three denominations, Congregational, Presbyterian, or Baptist.

2. That his province be to instruct the students in the several parts of Theology by reading a System of Positive and a Course of Controversial Divinity, beginning always with a short prayer.

3. That the said Professor read his private Lectures of positive and controversial Divinity so many times in the week as shall finish both courses within the term of one year.

4. That the Professor read publicly, * [once a week upon Divinity, either Positive, Controversial, or Casuistical; and as often upon Church History, Critical Exposition of Scripture, or Jewish Antiquities, as the Corporation, with the approbation of the Overseers, shall judge fit], always time of vacation excepted.

5. That the Professor set apart two or three hours, one afternoon in the week, to answer such questions of the students who shall apply to him, as refer to the system or controversies of religion, or cases of conscience, or the seeming contradictions in Scripture.

6. That the Professor of Divinity (while in the office) shall not be a Tutor in any other science, or obliged to any other attendance in the College, than the above-mentioned publick and private Lectures.

7. That the Professor read his private Lectures to such only as are at least of two years' standing in the College.

8. That, an honourable salary being provided for the Professor, it is expected that he require no fee from any of the students for their instruction.

* The words between brackets, an "alteration" by the Overseers.

9. That the said Professor be chosen * [every five years] by the Reverend President and Fellows of the College, or the major part of them, for the time being, and be presented by them, when chosen, to the Honourable and Reverend Overseers, to be by them approved and confirmed in his place.

10. That the said Professor be at all times under the inspection of the Reverend the President and Fellows with the Honourable and Reverend the Overseers for the time being, to be by † [them displaced for any just and valuable cause.]

11. That ‡ [the person, chosen from time to time to be] a Professor, be a man of solid learning in Divinity, of sound and orthodox principles, one who is well gifted to teach, of a sober and pious life, and of a grave conversation.

The Plan or Form for the Professor of Divinity to agree to at his Inauguration.

That he repeat his oaths to the civil government; that he declare it as his belief, that the || [Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are] the only and most perfect rule of faith and manners; and that he promise to explain and open the Scriptures to his pupils with integrity and faithfulness, according to the best light God shall give him. That he promise to promote true piety and godliness by his exam-

* "Every five years," struck out in 1724. "Or the major part of them" added at the same time. Both by the Overseers.

† Article 10. Instead of the words, after the word "by," the Overseers voted, Aug. 4, 1724, to insert these words, viz. "the said President and Fellows or the Major Part of them displaced for any just and valuable reason the Overseers consenting thereunto." Whether this alteration was consented to by Mr. Hollis does not appear by the Records of the Overseers, though it was proposed to him, with the amendment of the 9th Article, in a letter dated Aug. 6, 1724, and the latter was approved by him, as appears by their Records, May 13, 1725.

All the amendments were in the Articles as signed by Mr. Hollis, except what relate to Articles 9th and 10th.

‡ The words between brackets, inserted by the Overseers, instead of the words, "it be recommended to the Electors that at every choice they prefer".

|| "Scriptures" &c. within brackets, instead of "Bible"; "and most" blotted out by the Overseers.

ple and instruction; that he consult the good of the College, and the peace of the Churches * [of our Lord Jesus Christ] on all occasions; and that he religiously observe the statutes of his Founder, † [and all such other Statutes and Orders, as shall be made by the College, not repugnant thereunto.]

Signed and sealed the tenth day of January, in the ninth year of the Reign of King George, 1722.

THOMAS HOLLIS. [L. s.]

Witnesses, Jeremiah Hunt, Edward Wallin, }
John Hollis, Joshua Winslow, John Os- }
born, Daniel Neal, William Harris.

A true copy of Mr. Hollis's Orders and Statutes relating to the Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, consented to by the Overseers, and afterwards signed and sealed by Mr. Thomas Hollis.
Examined

Per HENRY FLYNT, *Cler. Curat.*

December 15th, 1804. It was voted, "That it shall be the duty of the Hollis Professor of Divinity to preach, and to perform other divine services in the Chapel, before the Officers, Graduates, and Undergraduates, on the Lord's Day, forenoon and afternoon, whenever the same shall be hereafter required by the Corporation and Overseers."

HOLLIS PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

Rules and Orders relating to a Professor of the Mathematicks and of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in Harvard College in Cambridge in New England, appointed by me, Thomas Hollis of London, Merchant.

1. That the Professor be a Master of Arts, and well acquainted with the several parts of the Mathematicks and of Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

2. That his province be to instruct the students in a system of Natural Philosophy, and a course of Experimental, in which to be comprehended Pneumaticks, Hydrostaticks, Mechanicks, Staticks,

* The words between brackets added by the Overseers.

† Added by the Overseers.

Opticks, &c., in the elements of Geometry, together with the doctrine of Proportions, the Principles of Algebra, Conick Sections, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, with the general principles of Mensurations, Planes and Solids; in the principles of Astronomy and Geography, viz. the doctrine of the Spheres, the use of the Globes, the Motions of the Heavenly Bodies according to the different hypotheses of Ptolemy, Tycho Brahe, and Copernicus; with the general principles of Dialling, the division of the world into its various kingdoms, with the use of the Maps, &c.

3. That the Professor shall read once a week, and, whenever the Corporation with the approbation of the Overseers shall require, twice a week, (times of vacation excepted) publicly in the hall to all students that will attend on such topicks relating to the Science of the Mathematicks, Natural or Experimental Philosophy, as he shall judge most necessary and useful, but always distinct and different from his private lectures.

4. That the said Professor shall read his private lectures on the several parts of the Mathematicks, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, so many times in the week as to finish each science that he begins within the compass of a year, and to go through the whole in two years. But the course of Philosophical Experiments shall be repeated at least once every year.

5. That the said Professor while in that office shall not be a Tutor in any other science, nor take upon him the Pastoral office in any church, nor be obliged to any other attendance in the College than the above mentioned publick and private lectures.

6. That whereas I have ordered and do appoint a salary of eighty pounds per annum to be duly paid to the said Professor, he shall be obliged to take no fee or reward from any of the students that have been or shall be on my foundation for the study of Divinity; but for other students in the College that desire his instructions, he may receive a fee as the Corporation shall direct, with the approbation of the Overseers, not exceeding forty shillings per annum.

7. That the Professor shall set apart two or three hours in every week to converse with his pupils and endeavour to clear such difficulties as lie upon their minds, relating to the several parts of the Mathematicks, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, of which he is Professor.

8. That the said Professor shall in all times to come be chosen by the Reverend the President and Fellows of Harvard College

for the time being, and shall be presented to the Honourable and Reverend Overseers of the College, to be approved by them, and then shall be jointly recommended by them to me for my confirmation during my life, and after my decease to such person as I shall appoint by my last will under my hand and seal during the term of his life; also,

9. That the said Professor shall at all times be under the care and inspection of the Reverend the President and Fellows of Harvard College, with the Honourable and Reverend the Overseers of the College for the time being, but shall not be displaced by them during his capacity for service, except for some just and valuable cause.

10. Upon the death or removal of a Professor, the Corporation shall be obliged to fill up the vacancy within twelve months; and in case of default, the nomination and choice shall for that time be in the Overseers, to be confirmed by me during my life, and by my executor after me; and in case they shall not fill up the vacancy in one year more, I then will, bequeath, and appoint the principal and produce of this estate to return to my executor.

11. On the day of Inauguration the Professor shall take the oaths to the civil government as appointed by the law, in the presence of the Reverend the President and Fellows of the College, and the Honourable and Reverend Overseers thereof in the public hall.

12. At the same time and place, and in the same presence, he shall declare himself to be of the Protestant reformed religion, as it is now professed and practised by the churches in New England, commonly distinguished by the name of Congregational, Presbyterian, or Baptist, and that he will comply with the same.

13. He shall promise to discharge the trust now reposed in him with diligence and fidelity, and to the advantage of the Students; that he will not only endeavour the advancement of true learning, but consult the good of the College in every other respect; that he will promote true piety and godliness by his example and encouragement, and will religiously observe the Statutes of his Founder.

And lastly, I order and appoint ten pounds per annum to the Treasurer for the time being, for his care and pains in keeping the accounts and drawing out a balance every audit-day of the College, to be sent to me and to my next and immediate successor annually, the Corporation being duly notified who the said successor is.

To all which orders and appointments, above written, being designed and solemnly dedicated and devoted by me to the glory of God, by improving the minds of men in useful knowledge, I set my hand and seal this eighteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six.

THOMAS HOLLIS. [L. s.]

Signed, sealed and delivered
in presence of us :

JOHN HOLLIS, JOSHUA HOLLIS,
RICHARD SOLLY, JOHN WILLIAMS.

The above Rules and Orders of Mr. Thomas Hollis, Merchant of London, were consented to and approved by the Corporation and Overseers of Harvard College in New England.

Sic Teste

HENRY FLYNT.

The instruction in the sciences enumerated in the Statutes, as coming within the province of the Hollis Professor, being the whole of Pure and Mixed Mathematicks, has been, as far back as the course of study is known, divided between him and one or more Tutors.

HANCOCK PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND OTHER ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

Copy of a Legacy left by the late Hon. Thomas Hancock, Esq. of Boston, in his will, to Harvard College, A. D. 1765.

I GIVE unto the President and Fellows of Harvard College, in Cambridge, the sum of one thousand pounds sterling, and order that the whole income be applied to the support and maintenance of some person, who shall be elected by the President and Fellows with the approbation and consent of the Overseers, to profess and teach the Oriental Languages, especially the Hebrew, in said College.

The Professor who shall receive the benefit of the donation, shall discharge the duties of his profession and office in such manner, and according to such rules and orders, as shall be appointed and established by the President and Fellows, with the consent of the Overseers: and previous to his induction into this office, he shall declare himself to be of the Protestant reformed religion, as it is now professed and practised by the churches in

New England. The said Professor shall also be removed from his office at the discretion of the President and Fellows, and Overseers of said College, for the time being ; inasmuch as I fully rely on their wisdom and integrity, that this will never be done without some very good and sufficient reason.

And it is my will, that, as soon as may be after my decease, as also after the decease or removal of any Professor upon this foundation, the President and Fellows proceed to the choice of some person to this office and trust, to be by them presented to the Overseers for their approbation and consent. But if the Overseers shall apprehend any unreasonable delay in this matter, in that case they may proceed by themselves to the appointment of a Professor.

It is also my will, that all the income of this donation during the time the Professorship may be necessarily and unavoidably vacant, shall be added to the capital sum, for the better support and encouragement of succeeding Professors.

STATUTES OF THE HANCOCK PROFESSOR.

The following draught of Statutes, Rules, and Orders for the Regulation of the Hancock Professor passed by the Corporation at their Meeting, June 12, 1765, was presented to the Board for their Approbation, and consented to by the Overseers, viz.

Whereas the Honourable Thomas Hancock, Esq., of Boston, by his last Will and Testament, founded a Professorship of the Oriental Languages, especially the Hebrew, in Harvard College in Cambridge, and left it to the President and Fellows with the consent of the Overseers, to appoint and establish Rules and Orders for the discharge of the duties of that profession and office ; the following Orders were accordingly voted by the President and Fellows June 12, 1765, and consented to by the Honourable and Reverend Overseers on the 14th day of the same month.

Statutes, Rules, and Orders relating to the Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages in Harvard College in Cambridge.

1. The Professor shall be a Master of Arts, and sufficiently acquainted with those languages which he is to teach, especially the Hebrew.

2. That his province be to instruct the Students in the Oriental Languages, especially in the Hebrew and Chaldee, being the languages in which the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament were written.

3. That the Professor shall read once a week (times of vacation excepted) publicly in the Chapel, on such topics relating to the languages aforesaid, as he shall judge most necessary and useful. In which public lectures he shall explain the particular genius and idiom of these languages, together with their characteristic differences from one another, and from the Occidental languages and shall intersperse such curious and critical remarks as may occur, tending to illustrate the oracles of God.

4. The said Professor shall also have private lectures, at such times as the Corporation, with the consent of the Overseers, shall appoint, in which he shall lead his pupils into the knowledge of these languages in a more familiar way, and shall endeavour to clear such difficulties as may lie upon their minds relating to them.

5. The said Professor shall set apart two or three hours in every week, to instruct such of his pupils as shall desire it, in a more private way, in the oriental languages besides those above specified, viz. — the Samaritan, the Syriac, and the Arabic.

6. The said Professor while in that office shall not take on him the pastoral office in any Church, nor follow any other employment that shall interfere with his profession, nor be obliged to any other attendance in the College than the above mentioned public and private lectures.

7. The said Professor shall always be elected by the President and Fellows, with the approbation of the Overseers, and shall at all times be under the care and inspection of the President and Fellows, with the Overseers, and shall also be removed from his office at the discretion of the President and Fellows and Overseers of said College for the time being. But this shall never be done without some very good and sufficient reason.

8. After the decease or removal of any Professor upon this foundation, the President and Fellows shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the choice of some person to this office and trust; to be by them presented to the Overseers for their approbation and consent. But if the Overseers shall apprehend any unreasonable delay in this matter, in that case they may proceed by themselves to the appointment of a Professor.

9. On the day of inauguration, and previous to his induction into his office, the Professor shall publicly, in the presence of the Reverend the President and Fellows, and of the Honourable and Reverend Overseers, agreeably to the express will of his Founder, declare himself to be of the Protestant reformed religion, as it is now professed and practised by the Churches in New England.

10. At the same time, and in the same presence, he shall promise to discharge the trusts now reposed in him with diligence and fidelity, and to the advantage of the Students, and that he will not only endeavour the advancement of true learning, but consult the good of the College in every other respect ; and that he will promote true piety and godliness by his own example and encouragement.

11. Lastly, The above statutes shall be subject to such alterations and additions from time to time, consistent with the will of the Founder, as the Corporation with the consent of the Overseers shall see cause to make.

**ALFORD PROFESSOR OF NATURAL RELIGION, MORAL
PHILOSOPHY, AND CIVIL POLITY.**

Particular appropriation of the monies paid out of the estate of the late Hon. John Alford of Charlestown, Esq., by the Hon. Edmund Trowbridge, Esq., and Richard Cary, Esq., executors of his last will and testament.

“ Know all men, that whereas we, Edmund Trowbridge of Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., and Richard Cary of Charlestown in said county, Esq., executors of the last will and testament of the Hon. John Alford, late of Charlestown aforesaid, Esq., deceased, did, at several times between the fifteenth day of March, A. D., 1765, and the first day of June, A. D., 1782, put into the Treasury of Harvard College in Cambridge thirteen hundred and sixty-two pounds eight shillings and five pence, lawful money, part of the said Alford's estate, to be by their Treasurer let out and kept upon interest, and the growing interest added to the principal yearly, until such a capital should be raised, as that

the interest thereof would be sufficient to support in said College a Professor of some particular science of public utility, and then to be regularly appropriated to that use ; and whereas by reason of the late war, and the evils that attended it, this is not yet done, and there is no probability of such a capital being so raised during our lives :

“ We do therefore now appropriate the said thirteen hundred and sixty-two pounds eight shillings and five pence, and the interest thereof in the said Treasury, to and for the support of a Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity, in the said College for ever, whose principal duty it shall be, by lectures and private instruction, to demonstrate the existence of a Deity or First Cause, to prove and illustrate his essential attributes, both natural and moral, to evince and explain his providence and government, together with the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments ; also to deduce and enforce the obligations which man is under to his Maker, and the duties which he owes him, resulting from the perfections of the Deity, and from his own rational nature ; together with the most important duties of social life ; resulting from the several relations which men mutually bear to each other ; and likewise the several duties which respect ourselves, founded not only in our own interest, but also in the will of God ; interspersing the whole with remarks, showing the coincidence between the doctrines of Revelation and the dictates of reason, in these important points ; and lastly, notwithstanding this coincidence, to state the absolute necessity and vast utility of a Divine Revelation.

“ He shall also read a distinct course of lectures upon that branch of Moral Philosophy which respects the application of the Law of Nature to nations and their relative rights and duties ; and also, on the absolute necessity of civil government in some form, and the reciprocal rights and duties of magistrates and of the people, resulting from the social compact ; and also on the various forms of government which have existed or may exist in the world, pointing out their respective advantages and disadvantages, and what form of government is best adapted to promote the greatest happiness of mankind.

“ And to the end that a regular and systematical division of the foregoing subjects, and of all the other branches of science, which come under this Institution, may be had and preserved, as well as a due proportion of time devoted to each, it is declared, that the

said Professor shall be under the control of the President, Fellows, and Overseers of the said College, who may from time to time give such directions relative thereto, as they shall judge fit and proper, and as shall be consistent with the rules and orders of this Institution.

“ The said Professor shall read his lectures on Natural Religion to all the four classes of Undergraduates; those on Moral Philosophy to the two Junior Classes, and those on Civil Polity to the Senior Class only; provided nevertheless, that the Officers of the College, and resident Graduates, as likewise such other gentlemen as the Corporation shall permit, shall have a right to attend all or any of the lectures aforementioned.

“ Such Professor shall be chosen by the President and Fellows, and approved by the Overseers of the said College, when there shall in their judgment be a sufficient fund for his support, raised either in the manner aforesaid, or for the present with the assistance of the College or otherwise, until he can properly be supported in the manner first proposed. But notwithstanding such temporary assistance, the said John Alford, Esq., shall be deemed and considered as the Founder of this Professorship, and the Professor shall be called the Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity.

“ And we do hereby institute and appoint, that the said Professor shall, from time to time, as occasion may require, be elected by the President and Fellows, and approved by the Overseers of the said College; that he shall be a Master of Arts, and bear the character of a learned, pious, and honest man; that he shall be at all times under the care and inspection of the said President, Fellows, and Overseers, who shall order and appoint the times and places for reading his public and private lectures, and see that the Professor duly attend the business of his office, and faithfully discharge the trust aforesaid, reposed in him; and as a regular and faithful discharge thereof will be sufficient to employ his whole time and thoughts, he shall not, while he holds the said office, be a pastor or teacher of any church or congregation, or an instructor in any other science; that the said Professor shall hold his office during his good behaviour, and that he be removable from it by the said President, Fellows, and Overseers, for want of ability to execute the trust, or for misbehaviour in the office, or for immoral and scandalous behaviour out of it.

“ That the Professor, on the day of his Inauguration, shall, in the presence of the President, Fellows, and Overseers of the said College, profess and declare himself to be of the Protestant Reformed Religion, and a member of a Protestant church, and shall promise to discharge with diligence and fidelity the sacred trust aforesaid reposed in him ; that he will endeavour, as well by his example as otherwise, to encourage and promote virtue, true religion, and piety ; and that he will religiously observe the aforesaid Institutes of the Founder of this Professorship.

“ That upon the death or removal of a Professor, the vacancy shall be filled up by the President, Fellows, and Overseers (in the same manner as the former Professor was appointed) with a person in all respects qualified for the office, and prepared as aforesaid to execute it.

“ Witness our hands and seals this eighteenth day of February, A. D. 1789.

EDMUND TROWBRIDGE, [L. S.]
RICHARD CARY, [L. S.]”

Signed, sealed, and delivered,
in presence of

JOHN FOXCROFT, }
JAMES FILLEBROWN, } by the said Trowbridge.
DAVID DEVONS, }
SAMUEL CARY, } by Richard Cary, Esq.”

In conformity to the foregoing Institution a Professor was first chosen, A. D., 1817.

No. XVII. (p. 153.)

ACCOUNT OF MR. HOLLIS.

[From the Boston Weekly News-Letter, Thursday, April 15–22, 1731.]

“ Boston, April 14, 1731.

“ Whereas some of the good people of our country, piously disposed to honor the memory of our late great and generous benefactor, Thomas Hollis, Esq., of London, have earnestly desired to be informed what the benefactions of Mr. Hollis to the College have been, to what sum they amount, and how he came to show us the kindness of God as he has done. It is therefore thought fit to insert the following account (however imperfect) in this public paper.

“ When the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather was agent for the Province in London, Anno 1690, he was known in his character of President or Rector of Harvard College to Mr. Hollis, who then told him that he purposed to remember said College in his will, which was no doubt gratefully accepted and encouraged by Mr. Mather.

“ Accordingly Mr. Hollis put down in his will one hundred pounds sterling to the said College whenever he should die; and so it stood till about the year 1717, or 1718.

“ At which time it pleased God to incline Mr. Hollis to be his own executor, and he sent over the said sum to the College, and Mr. Craddock paid three hundred pounds our money to Mr. Treasurer White.

“ At the same time the good Providence of God had ordered it that the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Colman of Boston, then one of the Reverend Corporation, had for about two years corresponded with Mr. John Hollis, a worthy gentleman in London, in behalf of two poor orphans, a minister's daughters, who named him to Mr. Colman as their father's friend.

“ Mr. Colman being then to write to Mr. John Hollis just as the gift of Mr. Thomas Hollis came to hand, he naturally was led to observe to him how one of his name had surprised us with his goodness and bounty.

“ ‘It may be (added Mr. Colman) the gentleman may be known to you, or may be related to you ; and if it should so happen, I would pray you to give him my thanks, being one of the present Governors of the College, and [let] him see the following account of it.’

“ In this [letter] Mr. Colman was directed by God to inform our benefactor, of whom and his principles he was utterly ignorant, ‘That the sons of parents, Episcopal in their judgment, or Baptists, were equally received, instructed, and graduated in our little Academy, as well as those of our own Profession, Congregational or Presbyterian.’

“ This, and some other things in Mr. Colman’s letter, happened to suite and please Mr. Hollis, who was in judgment against Infant Baptism ; but so catholic in his temper and practice, that he was member in full communion at Pinner’s-Hall in London, an eminent church there of, the Congregational denomination.

“ Mr. John Hollis was own brother to Thomas, our benefactor ; and when he received Mr. Colman’s letter he gave it to his brother, who immediately began his correspondence with Mr. Colman, telling him, ‘that the account he had given him of the College pleased him so much, that he had sent over two hundred pounds more for the College towards the support of poor Students in it.’ And Mr. Treasurer that year (1719) received six hundred pounds more, in addition to the first three hundred.

“ Mr. Colman could not but return a very grateful acknowledgment for so great a bounty as nine hundred pounds received. But in his letter he happened to say, that if he could have imagined so great a bounty from any gentleman to the College, he should have wished it might have been a foundation for a Professor of Divinity, which should have borne the benefactor’s name to all posterity among us, by the will of God.

“ Mr. Hollis answered ‘with wonder, that we had not a Professor of Divinity before that day,’ and prayed to be immediately informed ‘what would be a meet stipend or salary for one ?’

“ But before the Corporation’s answer could reach him he had shipped off more goods to the College Treasurer, which arrived safely, to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds of our money.

“ He then informed Mr. President Leverett and the Corporation, that his purpose was, if God pleased, to have ten Students in the College who should yearly and for ever receive ten pounds each ; and would allow eighty pounds per annum for a Professor of Divin-

ity ; and ten pounds per annum to the Treasurer of the College for his care and trouble in keeping his accounts distinct ; and five pounds more yearly for incidental charges or deficiencies. And then his bounty amounted to one hundred and ninety-five pounds per annum.

“ Mr. Hollis at the same time wrote, in several letters, to Mr. Colman about a Professor of the Mathematics and of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, that it was much upon his heart to get one in our College ; and within the compass of a few years he sent over moneys for this foundation also, and fixed his stipend also at eighty pounds per annum. And because this was an increase of Mr. Treasurer’s labour, he added another ten pounds per annum for him. And so his bounty stands at two hundred eighty and five pounds per annum.

“ But besides these noble foundations, he has added many other valuable gifts. His Apparatus for his Professor of Experimental Philosophy cost him one hundred and twenty (or fifty, I know not which) pounds sterling. His Hebrew and Greek types sent to the College cost him forty pounds sterling. But how much the many small boxes of books which he sent over to the library cost him, he himself only knew. I suppose the College may well estimate ’em at several hundred pounds our money. But many of these books he let us know were given by his friends, though all of his procuring for us. To all he added his Picture at the request of Mr. President Leverett and Mr. Colman.

“ If the foregoing account may gratify our inquisitive friends, do honor to our deceased benefactor, stop the mouths of the envious, and stir up others to do good, hoping for nothing again, I shall not repent the little pains of this extract.”

The Gentleman’s Magazine for 1781, contains the following anecdote of Hollis :

“ Mr. Hollis employed Mr. Pingo to cut a number of emblematical devices, such as ‘ the Caduceus of Mercury, the Wand of Esculapius, the Owl, the Cap of Liberty,’ &c. ; and these devices were to adorn the backs, and sometimes the sides of books. When patriotism animated a work, instead of unmeaning ornaments on the binding, he adorned with caps of liberty. When wisdom filled the page, the owl’s majesty bespoke the contents. The caduceus pointed out the works of eloquence ; and the wand of Esculapius was a signal of good medicines, &c.

“ The different emblems were used on the same book when possessed of different merits ; and to express his disapprobation of the whole, or parts of any work, the figure or figures were inverted. Thus each cover exhibited a critique on the book, and was a proof that they were not kept for show, as he must read before he could judge. Read this, ye admirers of gilded books, and imitate.”

It should also be remembered with gratitude, that, not content with giving himself, Mr. Hollis procured valuable donations from others ; and that, in addition to his unexampled liberality to the College, he contributed towards the promotion of charitable and religious objects in New England not less than £1000 sterling. At the same time his bounty was copiously and extensively diffused in his own country.

No. XVIII. (p. 238.)

The reader will have seen, in the note on page 238 of this history, an account of the Examination for admission into the University, in the year 1742, while President Holyoke was in office, as extracted from the MS. Diary of his son, the late Dr. Holyoke. The following paper is a specimen of the public Disputations at Commencement, during the same presidency.

[From "The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle. 1743, 1744."
8vo. Boston. 1744.]

QUESTIONS FOR THE CLASS OF 1740.

Quæstiones pro modulo discutiendæ, sub Reverendo D. Edvardo Holyoke, Collegii Harvardini, quod est, Divina Providentia, Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum, Præsîde. In Comitibus publicis a Laureæ Magistralis Candidatis: Pridie nonarum quintilis, MDCCXLIII.

I. An Fidei Confessio verbis merè humanis declaranda sit.

Affirmat respondens

Thomas Prince.

II. An omnis Simulatio sit Vitium.

Negat respondens

Benjamin Stevens.

III. An Solidorum Dissolutio in Menstruis per Attractionem perficiatur.

Affirmat respondens

Samuel Gay.

IV. An privata Utilitas, ultimus Actionum Moralium Finis esse debeat.

Negat respondens

Georgius Bethune.

Questions methodically to be discussed by the Candidates for the Degree of Master of Arts, in Public Assembly, under the Reverend Mr. Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard College, by divine Providence, at Cambridge in New England, on the 6th of July, A. D. 1743.

I. Whether a Confession of Faith may be declared in words merely humane?

Affirmed by Thomas Prince.

II. Whether every Dissimulation be a Vice?

Deny'd by Benjamin Stevens.

III. Whether the Dissolution of Solids in corrosive Liquors be performed by Attraction?

Affirmed by Samuel Gay.

IV. Whether Private Profit ought to be the chief End of Moral Actions?

Deny'd by George Bethune.

V. An supremo Magistratui resistere liceat, si aliter servari Respublica nequit.

Affirmat respondens

Samuel Adams.

VI. An omnis Motio et Sensatio animalis Nervorum Motu peragantur.

Affirmat respondens

Johannes Gibbins.

VII. An Imperium Civile ex Pactis oriatur.

Affirmat respondens

Samuel Downe.

VIII. An ex Operibus, Sanctificationi comitantibus, optime exquiratur Justificatio.

Affirmat respondens

Samuel White.

IX. An Obligatio ad Virtutem in abstractis Rerum Relationibus fundetur.

Affirmat respondens

Samuel Orne.

X. An quælibet Cultûs Divini Forma, Reipublicæ nullo modo incommoda, sit omnino toleranda.

Affirmat respondens

Johannes Newman.

XI. An hæc Regula [*Quod dubitas ne feceris*] sit, in rebus moralibus, admittenda.

Affirmat respondens

Samuel Hendley.

XII. An Intellectus humanus Divinæ Fidei Mensura sit.

Negat respondens

Jonathan Hoar.

V. Whether it be lawful to resist the Supream Magistrate, if the Common Wealth cannot otherwise be preserved?

Affirm'd by Samuel Adams.

VI. Whether all Animal Motion and Sensation be performed by the Motion of the Nerves?

Affirmed by John Gibbins.

VII. Whether Civil Government ariseth out of Contract?

Affirmed by Samuel Downe.

VIII. Whether Justification be best discovered by Works attending Sanctification?

Affirmed by Samuel White.

IX. Whether the Obligation to Virtue be founded in the Abstract Relations of Things?

Affirmed by Samuel Orne.

X. Whether every Form of Divine Worship may be universally tolerated, in no manner incommoding the public good?

Affirmed by John Newman.

XI. Whether this Rule [*What thou doubtest do not*] may be admitted in Morality?

Affirmed by Samuel Hendley.

XII. Whether the Humane Intellect be the Measure of Divine Faith?

Deny'd by Jonathan Hoar.

- XIII. An Voluntas Dei sit sola et adæquata moralium Actionum Norma.**
Affirmat respondens
Samuel Hale.
- XIII. Whether the Will of God be the only and adequate Rule of Moral Actions?**
Affirmed by Samuel Hale.
- XIV. An Conscientia invincibiliter erronea sit inculpabilis.**
Affirmat respondens
Nathaniel Snell.
- XIV. Whether a Conscience invincibly erroneous may be blameless?**
Affirmed by Nathaniel Snell.
- XV. An Scriptura credendi et agendi sit Norma perfecta et sola.**
Affirmat respondens
Samuel Langdon.
- XV. Whether the Scriptures be the perfect and only Rule of Believing and Acting?**
Affirmed by Samuel Langdon.
- XVI. An Religio Christiana Vi et Armis propaganda sit.**
Negat respondens.
Jacobus Hovey.
- XVI. Whether the Christian Religion may be propagated by Force and Arms?**
Deny'd by James Hovey.
- XVII. An detur Jus Gentium a Jure Naturæ distinctum.**
Affirmat respondens
Josephus Davis.
- XVII. Whether the Law of Nations be distinct from the Law of Nature?**
Affirmed by Joseph Davis.
- XVIII. An Peccata præterita et futura simul remittantur.**
Negat respondens
Amarias Frost.
- XVIII. Whether Past and Future Sins are forgiven at the same time?**
Deny'd by Amarias Frost.
- XIX. An Spiritus Sancti Operatio in Mente sit Causa naturalis impropria Erroris.**
Affirmat respondens
Sylvanus Conant.
- XIX. Whether the Operations of the Holy Spirit in the Mind may be the improper Cause of Natural Errors?**
Affirmed by Sylvanus Conant.

No. XIX. (p. 275.)

REMONSTRANCE AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLLEGE IN
HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

May it please your Excellency,

(1.) We beg leave to observe that Harvard College was originally founded by our Forefathers, with a laudable view to the general interest of learning and religion in this country; and that this is properly the College of the Government, it having been established and all along patronized and supported by the Legislature. For so early as the year 1642, the General Court manifested their great concern for its prosperity and for accomplishing the important end of this institution by constituting the Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, all the Magistrates (or Councillors) of this jurisdiction with the teaching Elders (or Congregational Ministers) of Boston, and five other next adjoining towns, and the President of said College for the time being, the Overseers and Guardians of it. This shows the sense they had of its importance, and that they considered the common public good as closely connected with the growth and prosperity of this seminary of learning. And the charter of the College, granted afterwards in 1650, refers to the said Overseers, as being legally entrusted with the care and superintendence thereof; which charter was to all intents and purposes confirmed in and by the royal charter of William and Mary, granted to this province in the third year of their reign.

(2.) The said Overseers have accordingly from first to last, superintended the affairs of the College; having taken care, while a general liberty was allowed for Christians of different denominations to send their children thither, and the rights of conscience were duly preserved, that the rules, laws, and orders of the Society should be such as tended to promote substantial learning and good religious principles and morals, in conformity to the generous, pious, and extensive views of the Government in its establishment, viz. the education of the "youth of this *country* in knowledge and godliness;" as it is expressed in the College Charter before referred to. And the said Overseers have from time to time interested themselves in all the important concerns of the College; using their endeavours that the true designs of this Institution might be answered, and guarding against whatever had an apparent tendency to counteract and defeat them.

(3.) In conformity to which laudable example, as well as to the nature of the trust reposed in us by the Government, we think ourselves obliged, by all lawful and honorable means, to promote the interests of said College, and to prevent as far as in us lies, any thing which would certainly or very probably be detrimental to it. And we are humbly of opinion that in the capacity of Overseers we not only may with the utmost propriety, but are in duty bound, as far as decency will allow, to appear in opposition to any proposal, which either directly interferes with the good of the College in Cambridge, or which in our apprehension would be prejudicial to the general interest of literature and religion "in this country." Neither do we well know how to separate the real proper interests of the College from what the government originally declared, and is known to be the important end of its establishment.

(4.) Your Excellency will permit us farther to say, in conformity to these sentiments, that we were not a little alarmed for the College under our care, when we first heard of a proposal for founding a College in the county of Hampshire, and of a petition preferred to the Government for a charter to that end. And it touched us with a very sensible sorrow, to understand afterwards, when the said petition would not pass the General Court, that your Excellency had gratified the petitioners, by preparing a charter in his Majesty's name for the general purpose aforesaid. With the validity or legality of which charter, supposing it actually to issue, we do not now concern ourselves; being very sensible, as your Excellency intimated to us on a late occasion, that whatever our thoughts may be as to that point, it does not belong to us as Overseers of the College to declare them, or to dispute your Excellency's authority to grant charters.

(5.) But waving this matter, as being beside our proper business in this capacity, we take the liberty to declare it as our opinion, that the founding another College, in this province, would not only be quite unnecessary, but really prejudicial to Harvard College, and to the common interest of learning and religion in the country — That establishing another College exactly, or nearly upon *the same footing* with that at Cambridge, so as to interfere with it, or supersede the occasion for sending youth to it from other parts of the province, would be of bad consequence in divers respects, we need not labor to prove, your Excellency at a late meeting of the Overseers having declared yourself so fully to that effect.

(6.) We are farther of opinion, with all proper deference to your Excellency, that there is no real difference between a College and

a Collegiate School, particularly such an one as is proposed in the county of Hampshire; and that such an institution there, agreeably to the views of the persons who lately applied to you for a charter, and according to the express tenor of the charter itself, which your Excellency had prepared to that end, would be to all intents founding, not only a real College, but a rival to that at Cambridge; one, whose interests would interfere very essentially with those of the latter, and consequently a College, which instead of being any ways subservient or useful, would be highly detrimental to it. Although, from the concern which you have heretofore manifested for the prosperity of Harvard College, and from your late repeated declarations to that purpose, we believe it was far from your Excellency's intention to do a real prejudice thereto. But that the founding such a College, or Collegiate School, in Hampshire (we suppose, Sir, it is quite immaterial by which name it is called), would really be an essential detriment to Harvard College, we think evident from the following considerations.

(7.) The known, acknowledged design of the few gentlemen, who lately made application for a charter, and who pressed that affair so warmly was, to found such a seminary of learning as should to all intents answer the ends of a College; one, in which the education of youth in that part of the country might be completed, without their being sent to Cambridge for that purpose, which they represented as inconvenient and very expensive; this design they did not even pretend to disguise, but openly professed from the first. And there is sufficient reason to think, that they would not even have accepted, much less so importunately desired, a charter only for an inferior School; after having all the advantages of which, it should be thought necessary for their youth to come and reside at Cambridge, though but a year or two, to finish their education. This was very far from their intention, as is well known. So that the College proposed by these gentlemen was by no means one subordinate and subservient to Harvard College; but one which might serve them effectually in lieu thereof; and therefore one to be set up in competition with, if not in direct opposition to it.

(8.) We are also humbly of opinion that the charter which your Excellency had prepared in order to the establishing a College in Hampshire, was in fact adapted to answer the aforesaid designs and views of those who requested it. For it constitutes them a body politic, with many great privileges; and is, in some respects, a more full and ample charter, than that of Harvard College. Particularly as it allows them to hold lands or other real estate, the

annual income of which shall be double to that of the lands which the other Corporation is permitted to hold. The College itself is to be honored with the name of Queen's College. And whereas Harvard College has Overseers, a President, Professors, Fellows, and Tutors; it is provided that Queen's College should have a President, Trustees, a Master, Preceptors or Tutors expressly; and it may, in consistence with said charter, have Professors also in the various branches of science and literature. In respect of which name of this intended seminary of learning and these titles of its Governors, Officers, and Teachers, it will be at least upon a par with Harvard College. And, to say the least, there is nothing in this charter, which discovers the intention of it to be the founding a College in any respect inferior to the other; much less preparatory and subservient to it. It is indeed intimated in this charter itself, that one reason for establishing a College in Hampshire is, that the people in those parts might not be subjected to the necessity, to the supposed inconvenience and greater expense of sending their children so far as Cambridge for an education; in which respect it exactly corresponds to the known views of those in whose favor said charter was prepared, as to having a real and every way sufficient College of their own, to serve that part of the country as Harvard College used to serve the whole.

(9.) And whereas your Excellency since the said charter was prepared, proposed by an additional clause, expressly to except the power of conferring degrees from the number of privileges granted thereby; we apprehend this would be very far from preventing the ill consequences of such an institution, since it would be easy, by the bye laws of the Society, to make provision for giving such honorary certificates, and ample testimonials, as would in a great measure defeat the intention of such a restrictive clause. — But if any considerable inconvenience should be found to arise from the want of such a collegiate privilege, yet a College being once founded, we apprehend that the persons, who had influence enough to carry this most essential point, would after a while much easier find means to get that defect supplied and their privileges extended agreeably to their original plan. Neither can it be thought that any thing short of this will finally satisfy them.

(10.) These things, Sir, being duly considered — the known professed views of the persons, who solicited for a charter, the plain tenor of *that*, prepared by your Excellency's order, and what it manifestly lays a foundation for, — we are of opinion, that if such

a charter should take effect, it would actually be the erecting a College in Hampshire, as a competitor with that at Cambridge; which would operate to the disadvantage of the latter, in proportion to the number and wealth, to the reputation and influence of those who are, or shall be hereafter favorers of the former. And with your Excellency's permission we will now a little more particularly lay open our apprehensions with reference to the bad consequences of such an institution: — a point, as we conceive, of much the greatest importance to Harvard College, and to the interest of learning among us, that ever came under the consideration of the Board of Overseers.

(11.) One College, if well regulated and endowed, is we suppose, abundantly sufficient for this province, considering its extent; and would be much more serviceable than two or more, whose interests interfere; as we think it evident beyond all doubt, that the interests of Harvard College, and of such an one as is proposed, would do. For though it is said that the Collegiate Schools in England are rather subservient and useful than any ways prejudicial to the Universities there, or to the common interests of learning; we conceive that the circumstances of the mother country and of those Universities (ancient, rich, and renowned) are so widely different from those of this country, and of our own yet young and feeble College, that there can be no good arguing from one to the other. There is no danger or possibility of those Schools ever proving rivals to, or coming into any sort of competition with the Universities; and therefore not of their being detrimental to them. Especially when it is considered, that some of the principal of these schools, if not all of them, were, as we understand, founded expressly in subordination to, and in dependence upon the Universities; as nurseries, out of which the brightest and most promising youths are from time to time to be selected, whose education is to be perfected at the Universities; for which it is said there are particular establishments. Whereas Queen's College, so far as appears by the charter, is to be in no respect preparatory to, or dependent upon the College in Cambridge. Neither is the latter yet arrived to such maturity, strength, and perfection, as to be out of danger of receiving great prejudice from such a competitor or rival, as the other might prove. — We do not mean in point of real excellence in literature, of which we have no reason to be apprehensive, but in other respects. And —

(12.) Particularly as our College, yet in its infant state, is hitherto but meanly endowed, and very poor, the unhappy consequences of which are too obvious ; and we think that the founding another College would be the most probable and effectual way to prevent its being hereafter endowed in such a manner as all who desire its prosperity doubtless wish to see it. For if such a College as is proposed were founded in Hampshire, it cannot be thought that persons living in that part of the country, who might be favorers of it, in respect of its vicinity, or on any other account, would be willing to bear a part in endowing that at Cambridge, whether in a legislative or private capacity. It may naturally be concluded that they would rather endeavour to obstruct all schemes and proposals to this end ; judging very justly, that the growth and flourishing of their own College depended in some measure upon the languishing and depression of the other. At least it may be concluded, that they would represent it as a heavy, intolerable grievance to be obliged by law to do any thing towards the encouragement and support of a College, from which they expected no immediate benefit, while they had one of their own to support, on which they had their dependence, and which stood in at least equal need. And besides, if such a College were founded, it might probably receive some legacies, or private donations, which would otherwise come to the College in Cambridge. So that we conceive the latter would at least lose some friends and benefactors, if not find some positive enemies, by the establishing another College in the manner intended. And the certain consequence of such a division and opposition of interests, as we think must needs be occasioned by this means, will be the keeping low, and greatly cramping that College whose prosperity we so justly and sincerely desire.

(13.) Moreover, if another College were founded, as has been proposed, yet it cannot be reasonably thought that in many years to come, the means of education therein, would be near so good as they are even already in Harvard College : they will doubtless be far inferior. And yet, from the motives of nearness or novelty, of convenience, of supposed cheapness, or some other, we think it not unlikely that after a few years, a great proportion of the youth of the province might actually be sent thither, instead of being sent to Cambridge to be educated, which would not only be a direct, great, and manifest prejudice to Harvard College, but consequently a real hurt to the general interest of literature and religion in the country. For although more of our youth might by this

means receive what is usually called a liberal education, and which might pass for a very good one with many, yet we apprehend this would be rather a disadvantage than the contrary, as it would prevent a sufficient, though smaller number of our youth, being sent to Cambridge, where they would unquestionably be much more thoroughly instructed and far better qualified for doing service to their country. And the natural consequence hereof would be, not only the filling too many important civil offices, but a great part of our pulpits, with comparatively unlettered persons, at once to the detriment both of the Commonwealth, and of the churches here established.

(14.) Permit us to add, Sir, that we apprehend founding a College in Hampshire would be a bad and very dangerous precedent. Since several other counties in the Province, might with at least as much, perhaps really more appearance of reason, demand the like privilege of setting up colleges respectively for themselves; and think they were hardly, and very partially dealt with, if they were not also indulged with charters for that purpose. But of what pernicious consequence it would be to go on thus multiplying Colleges, without having a single one well endowed, so as fully to answer all the ends of a College, we need not observe to your Excellency. And yet, how it could be well avoided, after such a precedent in the case of Hampshire, it is not easy for us to conceive.

(15.) There is another thing which we here beg leave to suggest to your Excellency's consideration in behalf of Harvard College. This College, as has been observed, was established by the whole Legislature; having received its Charter therefrom, for certain purposes as aforesaid; which Charter has been confirmed, not only by repeated Acts of the General Court, which in different reigns have received the Royal Sanction, but by the Charter of King William and Queen Mary to the Province. For *that* expressly confirms "all bodies politic or corporate," and particularly all "colleges or schools," in the possession of whatever rights and privileges they did or ought to enjoy, by virtue of a regular grant of any General Court formerly held, "according to the true purport and intent of such respective grant." Now, though the Charter prepared by your Excellency, for founding a College in Hampshire, may not touch the authority of the other College's Charter, directly; yet in our opinion, it really affects it indirectly; as it has a tendency to defeat in part the good designs thereof,

and to restrain or confine the privileges of said College, within narrower bounds than was originally intended. For should your Excellency's Charter issue, and operate as it has an apparent aptitude to do, we cannot but think it would prevent, in a great measure, the operation of the other Charter, to the ends it was designed for; and so would be, consequently, abridging the privileges of the said College; at once obstructing the growth and flourishing thereof, and the general interest of learning in this country, agreeably to what has been before observed. And although we do not now concern ourselves with the general question about your Excellency's right to grant charters; yet we persuade ourselves that you would not willingly, by virtue of your sole authority as the King's Governor, grant any *such sort* of Charter as should however indirectly and remotely, interfere with, or tend in the least degree to frustrate the true intent of, another and prior Charter, given by the whole Legislature here, and ratified by the royal authority as aforesaid.

(16.) But although your Excellency's Charter should not even remotely interfere with the Charter of Harvard College, as we suppose it does; yet, if we have assigned other sufficient reasons against founding a College in Hampshire, prudential ones, drawn from the present state of Harvard College, from the circumstances of the country, and from the bad effects of such an institution in these circumstances; we flatter, or rather assure ourselves that these reasons will have their due weight with your Excellency.— And the sum of what we have offered with relation to this point is, that if a College should be founded in conformity to the Charter prepared to that end, we should then have two Colleges in this government, the extent of which does not certainly require more than one, and if it does not really require more than one, then the establishing another would unquestionably be prejudicial in divers respects; — prejudicial to the general interest of learning, as well as to the particular interest, the growth, and prosperity of that which is already established. For by means of their separate interests, and a division of the strength, wealth, and affections of the people, naturally consequent thereon, neither of them would be suitably encouraged and endowed. Whereas one might probably be so, if there were only one, and all were happily united in the support and encouragement of it. And this one, in our opinion, would far better answer all the valuable ends of a College, than two rival Colleges, mutually cramped and kept poor by an opposition of in-

terests; and this, we may add, at a much less expense to the Province or people, in the whole, than would be necessary to maintain two, though but meanly and parsimoniously; at the same time that setting up another College would be a very dangerous precedent.

(17.) We must entreat your Excellency's patience a little longer. — You have too much candor and goodness, Sir, to impute it to us, as a criminal partiality, if we highly honour the memory of our forefathers; the first European settlers of this country. And on no one account, their unfeigned piety excepted, is their memory more respectable, more venerable to us, than on account of their known great regard for learning; their love and strong attachment to which prompted them so early, and while they were struggling with unnumbered difficulties to make an establishment for it, even in a wilderness. This they did at a great expense for them, considering their circumstances and abilities, however small it may seem in any other view; herein, probably, consulting the welfare of posterity and future ages, rather than their own immediate benefit. They did it with the pleasing hopes, that the Seminary of learning, of which they then laid the foundation, would at length, by the prudent care and the ingenuous liberality of successive generations, one day arrive to the dignity and extensive usefulness of an University, and become a distinguished ornament of the New World, in some measure as the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were of the Old. And we cannot but think, that they were very happy in the choice of a situation for this Seminary, at once so healthy and agreeable, and as near as could well be in the centre, or at an equal distance from the eastern and western limits of the government; in which the common convenience was provided for. Nor was the prudence of the government less conspicuous in the provision made for the well ordering, for the instruction and government of this Society; particularly, if we may be allowed to say it, in respect of the persons to whom the inspection and oversight of it were committed; and who have all along given a vigilant and constant attention thereto. Which, by the way, they could not have done, to so good effect, had it been situated at a much greater distance from this capital.

(18.) We devoutly adore the good Providence of God, which hath from the beginning presided over this Seminary, and raised up worthy benefactors to it from time to time, as well in Europe as America. So that it hath, from its first institution, furnished

these churches with faithful and able ministers, and the Commonwealth with worthy members, by whom the important offices in the government have been sustained with ability, fidelity, and reputation.

(19.) Neither are we unmindful of, but gratefully acknowledge, the paternal regards which your Excellency, during your administration, has extended to the College; and the assurances you have been pleased to give us from time to time, that you would have a particular attention to the privileges, the honour, and interest of it. — And indeed, Sir, it very naturally expects, as by us it now humbly implores, the continuance of your smiles, your favour, and protection, which it hopes it has not justly forfeited. And,

(20.) We beg that your Excellency would not impute it in any degree to disaffection to your person or administration, if we appear somewhat zealous in opposition to a proposed institution, by means whereof, if it should take effect, we apprehend that the extensive, the truly noble design of our forefathers in founding Harvard College, the prudent care of the government, and the vigilance of its more immediate guardians in times past (to say nothing of our own in particular), will be in a great measure really counteracted and defeated. Not disaffection to your Excellency, but a sense of duty to God, to the College, to the government, which committed this important trust to us; to the Commonwealth, to the present, and to future generations; — this it is, Sir, that prompts us in making this remonstrance. And permit us to subjoin, that we never can, without the deepest regret and the greatest sorrow, see an institution take place, by means of which, we are fully persuaded, the pious and expensive cares of our forefathers, and their generous, public-spirited designs, will be frustrated; by means of which we shall be split into parties and factions of interfering interests, and such as will be particularly prejudicial to the advancement of learning; by means of which, the endowment of Professorships in the various branches will be obstructed, and the so much needed enlargement of the buildings of the College probably prevented; by means of which the College must needs decline and languish, instead of flourishing, as we might otherwise expect; by means of which Academical degrees, those needful aids of learning, will be comparatively of little worth or utility (since the honor that attends, and the good influence and effects of them are but in proportion to the extent and dignity, the reputation and honor of the College, or

University that confers them) ; in a word, by means of which we conceive, a most fatal blow will be given to the interest of learning in this country, and all this at a time, when the spirit of learning seemed to be reviving among us, and to appear more than it has in some former years (which may be attributed in part, to your Excellency's encouragement, and your smiles upon the College), and at a time, when, from the increase of our numbers and wealth, and the extension of his Majesty's dominion in *America*, there was ground to hope, that our College would soon emerge from its comparatively low and infant state, and acquire all the endowments, privileges, and dignities of an University !

(21.) These, Sir, were our hopes ; and such as these are now our apprehensions of what will be the inevitable, the fatal consequence of founding another College as has been proposed. And while we view things in this light, as we cannot but view them, your Excellency will indulge us in expressing such apprehensions as these, with all the concern, the warmth, and pathos, that decency will permit. And upon the whole, we cannot but with great importunity, though with all proper respect and deference, make the two following requests to your Excellency.

(22.) One is, that you would not permit the aforesaid Charter of a College in Hampshire to issue, or take effect, since your Excellency lately gave us to understand that it was not irrevocable ; and even invited us freely to assign our reasons and objections against it.

(23.) The other is, that you would not assist or encourage, but rather discountenance those persons who sued for said Charter, in any endeavours which they may hereafter use to obtain another, whether here or elsewhere, for the like ends and purposes.

(24.) Which requests we the rather hope your Excellency will be pleased to grant, not only since, as head of the Board of Overseers, of which we have the honour to be members, you will have a very peculiar and tender concern for the interests of the College, in whose behalf we more immediately intercede ; but also since, as Governor of the Province, you will naturally have at heart the good of the whole : which we cannot but consider as closely connected with the prosperity of that Society, and consequently with the prevention of a College, or collegiate school, in the County of Hampshire.

W. BRATTLE, by order.

Boston, March 18th, 1762.

No. XX. (p. 162.)

THIS BODY OF LAWS FOR HARVARD COLLEGE WAS MADE BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS THEREOF, AND CONSENTED TO BY THE OVERSEERS OF SAID COLLEGE, ANNO DOMINI 1734.

CHAPTER I.

About Admission into the College.

1. Whoever upon examination by the President, and two at least of the Tutors, shall be found able *extempore* to read, construe, and parse Tully, Virgil, or such like common classical Latin authors, and to write true Latin in prose, and to be skilled in making Latin verse, or at least in the rules of Prosodia, and to read, construe, and parse ordinary Greek, as in the New Testament, Isocrates, or such like, and decline the paradigms of Greek nouns and verbs, having withal good testimony of his past blameless behaviour, shall be looked upon as qualified for admission into Harvard College.

2. Every candidate for admission shall procure and keep by him a true copy of the College Laws, respecting his duty and privileges, which being signed by the President and major part of the Tutors, shall be his admission into the college.

3. None shall be admitted into the College, until his parent, guardian, or some other, pay five pounds to the Steward towards defraying his future College charge; and also give bond to the steward with security to his satisfaction in the sum of forty pounds to pay College dues quarterly as they are charged in the several quarter-bills, viz. the steward's, the glazier's, and the sweeper's; said bill being first signed by the President, and one at least of the Tutors. And in case of death or removal before College charges rise to the sum of five pounds, the Steward shall return the remainder to him that gave the bond.

4. None shall be admitted fellow commoner, unless he first pay one hundred pounds to the College Treasurer, for the time being; being for the use of the College; and every fellow commoner shall pay double tuition-money.

5. Fellow commoners shall have the privilege of dining and supping with the fellows at their table in the hall, and shall be excused from going on errands, shall have the title of Masters, and shall have the privilege of wearing their hats as masters do, but shall attend all duties and exercises with the rest of the Class, and be alike subject to the Laws and Government of the College; and shall sit with their own Class, and in their place in the Class at the worship of God in the hall and meeting-house.

6. Every scholar, in the first quarter-bill made up after his admission, shall be charged six shillings to the use of the College for Gallery money.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning a Religious Virtuous Life.

1. All scholars shall behave themselves blamelessly, leading sober, righteous, and godly lives.

2. The President shall constantly reside at Cambridge, and (unless necessarily hindered) shall pray in the hall morning and evening, and read some portion of the Old Testament in the morning, and of the New in the evening (when there is no repetition or theological exercise), and he shall expound some portion of Scripture ordinarily once a week, or oftener, if he can conveniently attend it. And when the President cannot attend prayers in the hall, one of the Tutors shall pray, and also read some portion of Scripture, they taking their turns by course weekly; and whenever they shall do so for any considerable time, they shall be suitably rewarded for their service.

3. All persons of what degree soever, residing at the College, and all Undergraduates, whether dwelling in the College or in the town, shall constantly and seasonably attend the worship of God in the hall morning and evening.

4. If any Undergraduate comes tardy to prayers (without reasons allowed by the President or the Tutor that calls over the weekly bill), he shall be fined two pence each time; and if he is absent from prayers (without reasons as aforesaid), he shall be fined four pence a time.

5. Tardiness at, or absence from, divinity and philosophical public lectures in the hall shall be punished as tardiness at, or absence from, prayers in the hall.

6. All the scholars shall, at sunset in the evening preceding the Lord's Day, retire to their chambers, and not unnecessarily leave them ; and all disorders on said evening shall be punished as violations of the Sabbath are. And every scholar shall on the Lord's Day carefully apply himself to the duties of religion and piety. And whosoever shall profane said day by unnecessary business, or visiting, walking on the Common, or in the streets or fields, in the town of Cambridge, or by any sort of diversion before sunset, or that in the evening after the Lord's Day shall behave himself disorderly, or any way unbecoming the season, shall be fined not exceeding ten shillings. And if such scholar shall not reform after being privately admonished, he shall be further punished by public admonition, degradation, or expulsion.

7. If any scholar shall be absent from public worship in the meeting-house, on either part of the Lord's Day, without giving sufficient reason, he shall be fined three shillings. And if bodily infirmity or any other necessary occasion prevents his attendance on said worship, he shall notify his Tutor, and in his absence the President or some other Tutor at the ringing of the first bell, otherwise his absence shall be esteemed groundless. And whoever shall come tardy to the public worship, shall be punished six pence, or otherwise at the discretion of the President or one of the Tutors, not exceeding two shillings. Also whoever shall be guilty of loose or vain behaviour, or of playing or sleeping at the public worship, or shall go out of the meeting-house before the public worship is ended, shall be punished from one to five shillings, as the circumstances may be, according to the discretion of the President or one of the Tutors.

8. Inasmuch as complaints have been made of disorders in the meeting-house, by scholars going thither before the ringing of the second bell ; it is therefore ordered, that no Undergraduates shall go to the meeting-house on the Lord's Day, before the ringing of the second bell ; and whoever shall transgress this law, shall be punished by the President or one of the Tutors not exceeding two shillings.

9. Undergraduates shall in their course repeat at least the heads of the forenoon and afternoon sermons on the Lord's Day evenings in the hall ; and such as are delinquent shall be punished by the President or one of the Tutors, not exceeding three shillings.

10. All profane and irreverent behaviour at prayers or public divinity lectures in the hall, shall be punished after the same man-

ner with irreverence at the public worship in the meeting-house. The Divinity Professor to have an equal power with the President or Tutors, of punishing such offenders at his lecture.

11. All scholars shall show due respect and honor in speech and behaviour, as to their natural Parents, so to Magistrates, Elders, the President and Fellows of the Corporation, and to all others concerned in the Instruction or Government of the College, and to all superiors, keeping due silence in their presence, and not disorderly gainsaying them; but showing all laudable expressions of honor and reverence that are in use; such as uncovering the head, rising up in their presence, and the like. And particularly Undergraduates shall be uncovered in the College Yard when any of the Overseers, the President or Fellows of the Corporation, or any other concerned in the government or instruction of the College are therein, and Bachelors of Art shall be uncovered when the President is there.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning Scholastical Exercises.

1. That the scholars may furnish themselves with useful learning, they shall keep in their respective chambers, and diligently follow their studies; except half an hour at breakfast; at dinner, from twelve to two; and after evening prayers till nine of the clock. To this end, the Tutors shall frequently visit their chambers (especially in their several districts) after nine o'clock in the evening and at other studying times, to quicken them to their business.

2. If any Undergraduates are absent from their chambers in studying time, or after nine o'clock in the evening (unless they give sufficient reason for it), they shall be punished by the President or any of the Tutors, not exceeding two shillings.

3. The Undergraduates shall be brought forward by their respective Tutors, in the knowledge of the three learned Languages, viz. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (excepting, as to the Hebrew, those that shall be obliged to attend the Hebrew Instructor), and also in the knowledge of Rhetorick, Logick, natural Philosophy, Geography, Ethicks, Divinity, Metaphysicks, and in the elements of the Mathematicks. And the Tutors shall take care to instruct their pupils in such authors as the President and major part of the Tutors shall agree upon; excepting Ethical and Theological authors shall be such only as shall be allowed by the Corporation.

4. The Undergraduates shall in their course declaim publicly in the hall, in one of the three learned languages; and in no other without leave, or direction from the President, and immediately give up their declamations fairly written to the President. And he that neglects this exercise, shall be punished by the President or Tutor that calls over the weekly bill; not exceeding five shillings. And such delinquent shall within one week after give in to the President a written declamation subscribed by himself; and if out of town, he shall give in such declamation within one week after his return, under penalty as aforesaid.

5. The Senior Sophisters shall dispute publicly in the hall once a week till the tenth of March, and the Junior Sophisters after the same manner twice a week during that term and once a week afterwards.

6. The Senior Sophisters shall attend their exercises with their Tutors till the tenth day of March, and with their professors till the twentieth of June.

7. If any Undergraduates are absent from or slightly perform their stated exercises with their respective Tutors, or Hebrew Instructor, or shall absent themselves from the private lectures of the Professors, they shall be punished by their respective Professors, Tutors, or Instructor not exceeding five shillings. And if they do not speedily reform by such pecuniary mulcts, they shall be admonished, degraded, or expelled according as the nature and degree of the offence shall require.

8. No scholar that is on Mr. Hollis's Foundation, or that receives any other benefit from the College, shall enjoy the same any longer than he continueth exemplary for sobriety, diligence, and good order.

9. If any resident Bachelor, Senior, or Junior Sophister, shall neglect to analysis in his course according to the direction of the President, or do this exercise slightly, or carelessly, he shall be punished by the President not exceeding ten shillings.

10. Resident Bachelors shall dispute in the Hall once a fortnight (from the tenth of September to the tenth of March) on such questions as the President directs to. If any be absent from such exercises without leave from the President, he shall be punished by the President not exceeding five shillings, and if a respondent from five to ten shillings at the President's discretion.

11. All resident Graduates shall attend the public lectures of the Divinity Professor, and all resident Bachelors his private lectures.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning Penal Laws.

1. If any Undergraduate presume to go out of town without leave from his Tutor, or in his absence of the President, or some other Tutor ; he shall be punished not exceeding five shillings, at the discretion of the President or one of the Tutors.

2. Those scholars who live within ten miles of the College, may have leave four days in a month to visit their friends. Those who live from ten to fifty miles, may have leave for the purpose aforesaid once a quarter not to exceed ten days each time ; those who live fifty miles and upwards, may have leave for the like purpose, twice in a year, not to exceed twenty-one days each time, unless a longer time should, in the judgment of the President and their respective Tutors be thought necessary. Provided nevertheless, no Undergraduate in ordinary cases, shall have leave to be absent so as to omit his declamation or analysis. And if any shall transgress the limits set and allowed him, he shall be punished eight pence per day, five shillings per week, thirty shillings per month, (and if his absence shall exceed two months, he shall be degraded, if it exceed four months, he shall be expelled) unless he gives satisfactory reasons for such his absence ; which reasons shall be judged of by his Tutor if the absence does not exceed a week ; if it does not exceed a fortnight, by two or more of the Tutors ; and if it does exceed a fortnight then by the President and Tutors.

3. The Vacation beginning at Commencement shall continue but six weeks ; at the expiration of which time the President, Tutors, Professors, and Instructor, shall forthwith set about the business of their respective offices. If any Undergraduate (Senior Sophisters not excepted) shall continue absent from the College longer than the said term, he shall be punished for every day, week, and month, as is provided in the preceding law.

4. No Undergraduate shall lodge or board out of the College (unless his parents, guardian, or near relations are so nigh that he may conveniently lodge and board with them) without leave from the President and Tutors. And if he obtains leave, it shall be at such houses, as the President and Tutors allow of. And if any continue to transgress this law for one month after admonition by the President and Tutors, he shall be expelled.

5. If any Undergraduate shall suffer any one to lodge at his chamber, who is not a member of the College (his father or guardian excepted), without leave from the President or one of the Tutors, his own Tutor if in town, he shall be punished not exceeding five shillings.

6. If any scholar shall entertain at his chamber or familiarly associate with any person of a loose or ill character, he shall be punished by the President and Tutors or any one of them not exceeding five shillings ; and if he persist in so doing he shall be publicly admonished, degraded, or expelled, according to the aggravation of his offence.

7. If any scholar shall go beyond the College yards, or fences, without coat, cloak, or gown (unless in his lawful diversion), he shall be punished by the President or one of the Tutors ; not exceeding two shillings. And if any shall presume to put on or wear indecent apparel ; he shall be punished according to the nature and degree of the offence, by the President or one of the Tutors ; but if he wears woman's apparel he shall be liable to public admonition, degradation, or expulsion.

8. If any scholar shall unnecessarily frequent taverns, or shall go into any tavern or victualing-house in Cambridge to eat or to drink there (unless called by his parent or guardian), without leave from the President or one of the Tutors ; or if any scholar shall frequent any house or shop in the town of Cambridge, after he is forbidden by the President or one of the Tutors, he shall be punished by them (or any one of them) not exceeding five shillings ; and if he persist in transgressing any part of this law, he shall be further punished by admonition, degradation, or expulsion.

9. If any scholar shall be convicted of blasphemy, fornication, robbery, forgery, or of any other very atrocious crime, he shall be expelled forthwith.

10. If any scholar shall profanely curse, swear, or take God's name in vain, he shall be fined from five to ten shillings by the President or one of the Tutors ; and if such scholar do not reform he shall be further punished by public admonition, degradation, or expulsion, as the circumstances may be.

11. If any Graduate shall play at cards or dice he shall be fined twenty shillings : if he shall offend again he shall make a public confession ; and if the third time he shall not be allowed to continue any longer at the College, or be expelled as the nature of the offence shall require. If any Undergraduate shall play at cards

or dice, he shall be punished by fine not exceeding ten shillings with admonition, or by degradation, or expulsion, according to the aggravation of the offence. And if any Undergraduate shall play at any game whatsoever, for money or money's worth, he shall be punished by the President or one of the Tutors not exceeding five shillings. And if he repeat his offence, or play for any thing of considerable value, he shall be further punished by admonition, degradation, or expulsion, according to the aggravation of the offence.

12. If any Undergraduates shall buy, sell, barter or exchange among themselves books, apparel, or any other thing to above one shilling value, without leave of the President, their Tutors, guardians, or parents, it shall be in the power of the President, or their Tutors to make void such bargain, and the guilty shall be punished by fine not exceeding five shillings, or otherwise according to the aggravation of the crime.

13. If any scholar shall be guilty of lying, he shall for the first offence be fined by the President or one of the Tutors not exceeding five shillings, and if he persist therein, he shall make a public confession, be degraded, or expelled.

14. If any scholar shall be guilty of stealing, he shall make full restitution ; and be liable to pay double damages besides to the party injured, and shall be punished by making a public confession, by degradation, or expulsion, according the degree of the offence.

15. If any scholar shall be guilty of opening by pick-lock, or false key, or other instrument ; or of breaking open any chamber, study, cellar, chest, desk, or any place under lock and key, or otherwise secured, he shall make good all damages, and be punished by fine not exceeding twenty shillings, and make a public confession, or be degraded, or expelled.

And if any scholar shall have a pick-lock or false key by him, it shall be counted a misdemeanor and be punished at the discretion the President and Tutors.

16. If any scholar shall be guilty of drunkenness, he shall be fined five shillings, or he shall make a public confession, be degraded, or expelled, according to the aggravation of the offence.

17. No person of what degree soever residing in the College shall make use of any distilled spirits, or of any such mixed drinks as punch or flip in entertaining one another or strangers. And if any Undergraduate shall transgress this law, he shall be punished

for the first offence by the President or one of the Tutors, if a Bachelor, by the President and Tutors, not exceeding five shillings ; for the second offence, not exceeding ten shillings ; for a third offence he shall make a public confession ; and for a fourth offence, he shall be degraded, or expelled.

18. No Undergraduate shall keep by him brandy, rum, or any other distilled spirituous liquors ; neither shall he send for any of the said liquors without leave from the President or one of the Tutors ; and whosoever shall transgress this law shall have the said liquor that is found with him taken from him, and disposed of by the President and Tutors ; and he shall be further punished not exceeding five shillings. And any scholar that shall fetch such spirituous liquors, without leave as aforesaid, shall be punished in like manner.

19. Whereas much damage has been sustained by the cutting of lead from off the Old College, for the future, the door leading up to the top of the said College shall be always kept locked, and there shall be two keys to the lock of said door, one of them to be left with the President, the other with the Butler ; and if any scholar (except the Butler) be seen on top on said College, without leave from the President or one of the Tutors, he shall pay not exceeding five shillings. And if he cuts or takes any lead from thence, he shall pay not exceeding five shillings, and repair all damages. And if any scholar is found privy to the transgression of this law, and does not discover it, he shall pay not exceeding five shillings, as the President and Tutors shall direct.

20. Whereas there have been at sundry times great disturbances occasioned by tumultuous, indecent noises at the College, for preventing the like for the future, it is ordered, that if any scholar or scholars belonging to the College shall be found guilty of making tumultuous or indecent noises, to the dishonor and disturbance of the College, or to the disturbance of the Town or any of its inhabitants ; every scholar so offending shall be liable to be fined five shillings, and to be publicly admonished or degraded for the first offence ; for the second offence, to be fined ten shillings, and to be degraded or expelled.

21. If any scholar or scholars, being thereunto required, shall refuse to give evidence respecting the breach of any College laws, or shall falsify therein upon examination before the President or Tutors, he or they shall be punished by fine not exceeding ten shillings, or by admonition, degradation, or expulsion.

22. For rendering more effectual the fines that are imposed by the President, Professors, Tutors, or Instructor, it is ordered, that they be so particularly specified as that the parents or guardians of the delinquents may know how much and for what they are punished. And to this end, the Butler shall be obliged quarterly to prepare and sign a list of each pupil's punishments, giving an account for what they were imposed, and shall lay the same before the Tutor, whose turn it is to make up the quarter-bill; and then transmit it to the Steward, who shall annex it to the account of charges which he shall send to such pupil's parent or guardian; and the Butler and Steward shall be allowed out of the fines for their trouble and charge as shall be agreed upon by the Corporation.

23. Notwithstanding the preceding pecuniary mulcts, it shall be lawful for the President, Tutors, or Professors, to punish Undergraduates by boxing, when they shall judge the nature or circumstances of the offence call for it.

24. No scholar (or his parent or guardian in his behalf) shall exhibit to any other authority than that of the College, a complaint against any of the governors, or resident members thereof, for any injury cognizable by the authority of the College, before he has sought for redress to the President and Tutors, and in case of their denying him relief, to the Corporation and Overseers; and if any scholar (or his parent or guardian for him) shall, without such application made, or contrary to the determination of the Corporation and Overseers, carry said complaint to any other authority, such scholar shall forthwith be expelled the College.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Scholars' Commons.

1. All the Tutors and Professors, Graduates and Undergraduates, who have studies in College, shall constantly be in commons while actually residing at College, vacation-time excepted, and shall dine and sup in the hall, at the stated meal-times, except waiters (and such whose parents or guardians live so nigh that they may conveniently board with them), and such others as the President and Tutors shall, in cases of necessity, exempt. Provided always, that no Professor or Tutor shall be exempted but by leave of the Corporation, with the consent of the Overseers. And the tables shall be covered with clean linen cloths of a suitable length and breadth, twice a week, and furnished with pewter plates, the plates to be procured at the charge of the College, and afterwards to be main-

tained at the charge of the scholars, both Graduates and Undergraduates, in such manner as the Corporation shall direct.

2. No scholar shall be put in or out of Commons, but on Tuesdays or Fridays, and no Bachelor or Undergraduate but by a note from the President, or one of the Tutors, (if an Undergraduate, from his own Tutor, if in town;) and when any Bachelors or Undergraduates have been out of Commons, the waiters, at their respective tables, shall, on the first Tuesday or Friday after they become obliged, by the preceding law, to be in commons, put them into commons again, by note, after the manner above directed. And if any Master neglects to put himself into commons, when, by the preceding law, he is obliged to be in commons, the waiters on the Masters' table shall apply to the President or one of the Tutors for a note to put him into Commons, and inform him of it.

3. The waiters, when the bell tolls at meal-times, shall receive the plates and victuals at the kitchen-hatch and carry the same to the several tables for which they are designed. And none shall receive their commons out of the hall, except in case of sickness or some weighty occasion. And the Senior Tutor or other senior scholar in the hall, shall crave blessing and return thanks. And all the scholars, while at their meals, shall sit in their places and behave themselves decently and orderly, and whosoever shall be rude or clamorous at such time, or shall go out of the hall before thanks be returned, shall be punished by one of the Tutors not exceeding five shillings.

CHAPTER VI.

About Academical Degrees.

1. No academical degrees shall be given but by the Corporation with the consent of the Overseers.

2. Every scholar that on proof is found able to read the original of the Old and New Testament into the Latin tongue, and to resolve them logically and to be well instructed in the principles of the Mathematics, and Natural and Moral Philosophy, (withal being of a blameless life and conversation,) and at any public act shall have the approbation of the President and Fellows of the College, with the consent of the Overseers, may be invested with a first degree, viz. Bachelor of Arts; otherwise no scholar may be admitted to a first degree, unless he hath been at the College three years and ten months at the least, from his admission, being blameless, and having attended upon and performed all public exercises.

3. What Bachelor soever shall make a common place or synopsis of any of the arts or sciences, and publicly read the same in the College hall, in the third year after his first degree, and be ready to defend his theses, and is skilled in the original tongues, and continueth blameless, shall, after approbation at a public act, be capable of a second degree, viz. of Master of Arts. And no other degree shall be given besides the above named, but in such cases and upon such conditions as the Corporation shall judge fit, the Overseers consenting thereunto. And every person that has received any degree, may have a diploma testifying the same, if he shall desire it, and bring a fair copy of the established form written on parchment, and other things necessary thereto.

4. Each candidate for his first or second degree shall pay twenty shillings to the President, and twenty shillings to the steward towards defraying the charge of the Commencement dinner; and each candidate for his second degree shall pay twenty shillings to the Steward for the use of the College.

5. No person shall receive a first or second degree, unless he exhibits to the President a certificate from the Steward that he has satisfied his College dues charged in the quarter-bills, or otherwise according to custom; nor shall any person be admitted to either of the degrees aforesaid, who hath not paid every other officer of the College his just dues, provided such officer make complaint thereof to the President and Tutors, on or before the fifteenth of June.

6. For preventing disorder and extravagances at Commencement, it is ordered, that the Commencement, for the time to come, be more private than formerly, and that the particular day for the Commencement, from time to time, be appointed by the Corporation, that the Honourable and Reverend Overseers of the College be seasonably acquainted with said day, and be desired to honour the solemnity with their presence. That the exercises of Commencement be the same, and performed in such public manner as usual. That the particular day for the candidates for their second degree to appear at College be left, from year to year, to the determination of the Corporation. That a dinner be provided in the hall as usual. And that no commencer shall have at his chamber any plumb cake, or plain cake, or pyes, or hot meats of any sort, except what is left of the dinner in the hall; or any brandy, rum, or any distilled spirits or composition made with any of them. And if any of these prohibited drinks or provisions shall be found in the chambers or studies of any of the commencers, or within any of the

dependencies thereof, such offender shall be liable to be debarred his degrees. And whosoever, after he has taken his degree, shall, at that Commencement, act contrary to any of these prohibitions, and be convicted thereof within three months, shall be liable to be denied his second degree, if a Bachelor ; and if a Master, he shall be liable to be denied a diploma, and all privilege of ever living at the College ; and the Corporation with the Tutors shall visit the chambers of the commencers to see that this law be well observed.

CHAPTER VII.

About the Steward, Cook, and Butler.

1. While the same person is steward and cook, he shall procure wholesome and suitable bread, beer, and other provisions for the scholars ; and may advance fifty per cent. above the current price. And he shall allow to the College for the kitchen, brew-house, and for the use, wear, and tear of College utensils belonging to his office, so much per annum as the Corporation shall direct.

2. The price of bread, beer, and commons, and sizings at the kitchen shall be, from time to time, stated by the Corporation.

3. The steward shall, at the direction of the Corporation, procure, at the charge of the College, all proper utensils for the buttery and kitchen, from time to time as there shall be occasion.

4. The butler and cook shall constantly keep the rooms and utensils belonging to their several offices sweet and clean, fit for use. And the kitchen pewter in constant use shall be scoured twice a quarter, and the butler's drinking vessels once a week, or oftener, as the President and Tutors shall direct. And said butler and cook shall exhibit to them an inventory of the utensils belonging to their respective offices once a quarter. And in case of neglect in any of the articles of this law, said butler and cook shall be subject to a fine not exceeding twenty shillings, at the discretion of the President and Tutors.

5. The butler shall take care that all fines imposed by the President, Tutors, Professors, or Instructor, be fairly recorded in a book, by him to be kept for that purpose, and shall quarterly deliver said book to the Tutor that makes up the quarter-bill ; and such Tutor shall not remit or abate any fine, without the consent of the President, Professors, and Tutors, or major part of them, at a meeting duly warned.

6. The butler and cook respectively shall be accountable for such of the College utensils as they have in their custody, and shall make good all such detriment or loss as shall happen to said utensils by their neglect. And said butler and cook shall observe what number and kind of utensils the waiters carry to each table in the hall, and shall immediately after meals demand the same of the senior waiter at each table then present ; and if any utensil be not forthwith returned, the waiters of the table where it was employed shall (upon complaint made to the President and Tutors) be obliged to pay the value thereof for the use of the College. And whosoever shall damnify or abuse any of the College utensils, or any thing else belonging to the College, shall (upon complaint made as aforesaid) be obliged to make good such damage, and be liable to such further punishment as the President and Tutors shall think fit.

7. The steward for the time being shall, within fourteen days after the expiration of each quarter, draw out the quarter-bill ; and fill up the column of commons and sizings, and deliver the same to the Tutor whose turn it shall be to make up such bill ; who shall fill up the other columns according to law or custom, and such adjustments agreeable thereto, as shall be made by the President and Tutors, and then shall present it to the President, who with said Tutor shall sign said bill ; and the said Tutor shall enter the said bill immediately in the College book of quarter-bills, after which he shall deliver it to the steward, who shall demand of each scholar the whole of what he is therein charged with.

8. Whereas great damage has been sustained by the scholars not seasonably paying their College dues, it is ordered that if any scholar shall neglect to pay his quarterly charges for the space of three months after the quarter-bill is signed, he shall (upon complaint made by the steward to the President and Tutors) be dismissed from the College, and shall not be restored but with the approbation of the Corporation, and upon full satisfaction given for all damages sustained by such neglects.

9. The butler shall wait upon the President at the hours for prayer in the hall, for his orders to ring the bell ; and also upon the Professors for their lectures, as usual ; he shall likewise ring the bell for commons according to custom, and at five o'clock in the morning and nine at night. And the said butler for these and other services (to which no particular reward is assigned) shall be allowed sixteen pounds per annum, to be paid by the Undergraduates, and charged in their quarter-bills.

10. The butler shall pay to the College, from time to time, for absent commons, as the Corporation shall appoint. The butler shall have liberty to sell cider to the scholars at such prices as the Corporation shall appoint. He shall also, from time to time, as there shall be occasion, provide candles for the hall, and shall take care that the hall and the entry adjoining be swept once a day, and washed at least once a quarter, and that the tables and forms be scoured once a week (except in the winter season, when they shall be scoured once in three weeks, or so often as the Tutors shall require it), for which he shall have such allowance as the President and Tutors shall appoint, to be paid by the Undergraduates, and charged in their quarter-bills.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning Miscellaneous Matters.

1. The chambers and studies in the College shall be disposed of to the Scholars, Graduates, and Undergraduates at the discretion of the President and Tutors.

2. Undergraduates shall dwell and lodge in the chambers assigned to them ; and if any neglect to observe this law, they shall be punished by fine not exceeding five shillings, or by admonition, degradation, or expulsion, according to the aggravation of the offence.

3. While a study stands assigned to any Graduate, he shall pay rent for it ; and if he does not possess and statedly use it, within two months after it is assigned him, or if after he has possessed it, he discontinues three months from statedly using it, he shall be liable to have it taken away by the President and Tutors.

4. Every Scholar, Graduate, and Undergraduate shall find his proportion of furniture, wood, and candles during the whole time of his having a study assigned to him, whether he be present or absent.

5. If Bachelors or Masters set an example of idleness, extravagance, neglect of public worship or religious exercises in the hall, or allow disorders in their chambers, or show contempt to any of the laws or Governors of the College, and, after admonition by the President and Tutors, do not reform, their chambers shall be taken from them, and they shall not be allowed to reside any longer in the College. And the President, or any two or more of the Tutors, are hereby empowered and directed to visit the chambers of the Graduates, or send for them to come before them for inquiry,

examination, or admonition, as occasion shall require ; and if any Graduate shall deny entrance into his chamber, or study, to the President or two of the Tutors, or shall refuse or neglect to come when sent for, he shall be punished in manner as aforesaid.

6. If the President or a Tutor shall demand entrance into any Undergraduate's chamber, or study, and it be denied him, such Undergraduate shall be degraded, rusticated, or expelled. And in this case, or any other, wherein the good of College is by said President or Tutor thought to require it, the President or Tutor may break open any chamber or study door, except the door of a Graduate, which shall not be done but by the President, or two of the Tutors.

7. The President or Tutors may require suitable assistance from any scholar or scholars for the preservation of the good order of the College ; and if any one so required shall refuse or neglect to give his assistance, it shall be looked upon as a high misdemeanor, and a great contempt of the authority of the College, and be punished by admonition, rustication, degradation, or expulsion.

8. The monitors of the hall shall be chosen by the President and Tutors, and their stipend be appointed by the Corporation, to be charged upon the Undergraduates in their quarter-bills.

9. To excite Tutors from time to time to the greater care and fidelity in their work, those who shall be chosen Tutors, shall be chosen for the term of three years only, at the expiration whereof a new election shall be made by the Corporation, and presented to the Overseers for their acceptance.

10. The Professors shall constantly reside in Cambridge, near the College ; and the Tutors in the College and the Corporation shall, from time to time, determine what chambers shall be Tutors' chambers, (and also which shall be the Professors' chambers when residing in the College), as they shall judge most commodious for them to inspect the scholars and prevent disorders.

11. Whereas, through long experience former orders have not been effectual for preventing of damages to the College by the violence or carelessness of those, for whose accommodations great cost and charges have from time to time been expended, it is ordered, that when any damage (except by the inevitable Providence of God) shall be found done to any chamber, or study, inhabited, the person or persons to whom said study or chamber belongs, shall make good the same. And when any damage is done to any other parts of the College, or to any of its appurtenances, such as fences,

pumps, clock, &c., the same shall be made good again by all the Undergraduates, and shall be charged in their quarter-bills; provided always if the person or persons that were the cause or blameable occasion of such damage done be discovered, he or they shall make full satisfaction for the same, and shall be also liable to such punishment by fine or otherwise, according to the demerit of the fact, as the President and Tutors shall think fit.

12. That none belonging to the College, except the President, Fellows, Professors, and Tutors, shall by threats or blows compel a Freshman or any Undergraduate to any duty or obedience; and if any Undergraduate shall offend against this law, he shall be liable to have the privilege of sending Freshmen taken from him by the President and Tutors, or be degraded or expelled according to the aggravation of the offence. Neither shall any Senior scholars, Graduates, or Undergraduates, send any Freshman on errands in studying hours, without leave from one of the Tutors, his own Tutor if in College. If any Bachelor or Undergraduate shall transgress in this matter, he shall be punished by the President or Tutor, not exceeding three shillings for each offence.

13. If any Undergraduate refuse or neglect to come when sent for by the President, a Tutor, or Professor, he shall be punished by admonition, degradation, or expulsion, according to the aggravation of the offence.

14. If any Scholar, Graduate, or Undergraduate make resistance to the President or any of the Professors or Tutors, such Scholar shall be liable to degradation or expulsion. And if any Scholar offer violence or any heinous insult to any of the Governors of the College, he shall be forthwith expelled.

15. No Undergraduate shall keep a gun or pistol in the College, or any where in Cambridge; nor shall he go a gunning, fishing, or scating over deep waters, without leave from the President or one of the Tutors, under the penalty of three shillings. And if any Scholar shall fire a gun or pistol within the College walls, yard, or near the College, he shall be fined not exceeding ten shillings, or be admonished, degraded, or expelled, according to the aggravation of the offence.

16. If any scholar shall be convicted of fighting with, or striking, or wilfully hurting any person, he shall be fined by the President or one of the Tutors, not exceeding five shillings, or be admonished degraded, or expelled, according to the aggravation of the offence.

17. No scholar who has been expelled the College shall be readmitted by the President, Professors, and Tutors, without the consent of the Corporation.

18. All fines above five shillings (except in the cases already provided for), and all public admonitions, rustications, and degradations, either in the same class or to a lower class, shall be by the President and Tutors, and all expulsions by the President, Professors, and Tutors; and in the forementioned cases, the determination shall be made by the major part of them, the President having a casting vote.

19. Whereas in some years past there have been great damages done to the chambers and cellars of the College, during the vacation; for the prevention thereof, it is hereby ordered and directed, that the President and Tutors appoint some suitable persons to reside at the College during such vacation times, who shall have in charge, to take care of and prevent damages to any of the chambers, cellars, or fences, belonging to the College, and no other scholars, being Junior Bachelors, or Undergraduates shall continue in the College from and after the Commencement week, or any part of that time, unless those whom the President and Tutors on some special reason shall permit. And if any shall presume without such leave or permission so to continue, they shall be punished by fine not exceeding twenty shillings, or by degradation, or rustication, at the discretion of the President and Tutors.

20. Whereas the President and Tutors have been often much incommoded, in settling the chambers after the Commencement, by reason of their not knowing what Junior Bachelors will live in College after they have taken their degrees; Therefore it is hereby ordered, that whosoever of said Bachelors, shall not, on or before the Saturday after the Commencement, signify to the President that he designs yet to hold his chamber at College, shall be supposed to leave it, and the same chamber shall (at the time of the settlement of the chambers) be disposed of by the President and Tutors to any other person at their discretion. And whosoever of said Bachelors shall signify his design as above still to hold his chamber, shall be obliged to pay one quarter's rent, though he should desire to relinquish such his chamber within the quarter, unless he should make such relinquishment before the time when the President and Tutors shall make the general settlement of the chambers after the Commencement.

21. Whereas the Senior Sophisters have taken it for granted, that they had liberty to go out of town and absent themselves from

the College without leave, after they are dismissed from their stated exercises with their Tutors, by which means they have lost the benefit of the instructions of the Professor of Divinity, and those also of the Professor of Natural Philosophy and the Mathematicks, which (by the sixth law in the third chapter of College Laws) they are obliged to attend till the twentieth day of June, therefore voted, That if any Senior Sophister shall, from the tenth day of March to the twentieth day of June, presume to go out of town, without leave from the President or, in his absence, from one of the Professors, he shall be punished, not exceeding five shillings, at the discretion of the President or one of the Professors. And in case any such Senior Sophister shall continue his absence beyond the time he had leave for, he shall be punished by the President and Professors, according to the law made and provided in such cases for all Undergraduates, viz. law second, in chapter fourth of the College Laws. Furthermore, in case any Senior Sophister, who shall have presumed to go out of town without leave, shall continue his absence, he shall be punished, not exceeding six pence per day, four shillings per week, and twenty shillings per month. And if his absence shall exceed two months, he shall be denied his degree that year. Provided nevertheless, that the President and Professors shall have power to abate, at their discretion, all or any part of the punishments above provided, according to the satisfaction such Senior Sophister shall give to them concerning his absence. And it is further ordered and directed, that the Senior Sophisters shall be continued in the monitor's bill, till the aforesaid twentieth day of June.

22. Whereas scholars may be guilty of disorders or misdemeanors, against which no provision is made by the foregoing laws, in all such cases the President with the Tutors shall inflict such punishment as they think proper, according to the nature and degree of the offence. And, in all punishments below expulsion, more than one may be inflicted for the same crime, according to the aggravation of it.

[At the end of each Student's copy of the College Laws, it was the usage to add the official certificate of his admission into the University. The following is the certificate granted to the late Dr. Holyoke, whose copy of the laws has been here followed.]

EDVARDUS HOLYOKE admittatur in Collegium Harvardinum,

EDVARD. HOLYOKE, Præses.

Cantabr. 15to Calend.
Septembris, 1742.

Henricus Flynt, }
Belcher Hancock, } Socii.
Josephus Mayhew, }

(No. XXI. p. 211.)

Professor Wigglesworth's Reply to Whitefield's Charges against the College.

. And this brings us to your "reproachful reflections upon the Society which is immediately under our care." The reflections are these, as you rehearse them, p. 12. "As far as I could gather from some who well knew the state of it [the College] not far superior to our Universities, in piety and true godliness. — Tutors neglect to pray with and examine the heart of their pupils. — Discipline is at too low an ebb : — Bad books are become fashionable among them. — Tillotson and Clark are read, instead of Shepherd, Stoddard, and such like Evangelical writers."

You say, first, that "as far as you could gather from some, who knew the state of the College well, it is not far superior to our Universities in piety and true godliness." — To know what you mean by this, we must look to the character you give of the Universities in England. Now this we have in your Journal at Williamsburgh, p. 109, where speaking of the College at that place, you say, "It may be of excellent use, if learning Christ be made the foundation of their study, and other arts and sciences only introduced and pursued as subservient to that. For want of this, most of our English Schools and Universities are sunk into meer Seminaries of Paganism. Christ or Christianity is scarce so much as named among them." — As for this your character of the Universities in England, we only say, that you have taught us to believe you with discretion, by telling the world, that our state, with respect to "piety and true godliness, is not far superior to this." — Concerning our own Academy, we say, we are far from boasting of its piety and true godliness. We are heartily sorry, that there is not much more of these to be found among the youth under your care, than there is. And yet we may with great truth, and without any immodesty, affirm, that the knowledge of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, is earnestly recommended to the Students as that, in comparison whereof they ought to account all other things but loss and dung.

You go on and say, "Tutors neglect to pray with their pupils." To which we answer, that this is either not true, or not any just

matter of reproach, as you would have it thought to be. If you intended, by this account of us, to make the world believe, that social worship of God is not maintained in the College, that Tutors and pupils don't attend upon the public reading of the holy Scriptures, and join together in solemn prayers, morning and evening, you have represented us as sunk into something as bad, or worse, than mere Paganism. But then this representation is so vile a slander, that we can hardly believe, that, in the six days you gave yourself to be acquainted with credible persons, and take their information, you met with a single man, who was false and bold enough to give you such an account of us.

If you say, that this was not your meaning, that you intended no more than to let the world know, that besides those prayers which Tutors and Pupils conjunctly offer up to God morning and evening, each Tutor don't take his own pupils into his chamber and pray with them again; how does this prove what you seemed to have designed it for, viz. that our Society is "not far superior to such as are sunk into mere Seminaries of Paganism," as you say the Universities in England are? What law of Christ hath made this an ordinary duty of Tutors, that you should think the neglect of it such a reproach, that the world ought to hear it? If some credible person should tell you concerning any professed Christian householder, that besides worshipping God morning and evening with his whole family, he did not divide it into three or four parts, and pray with each of them again by themselves, would you think this such an heinous neglect, that all the British dominions ought to ring of it? And would you think that you represented the conduct of such an householder in a Christian manner, if you should print it in your Journal, that he neglected to pray with his children, only because he never shut out the rest of his family, when he pray'd with them? If you say, that the case of the Tutors differs from that of an householder, because it is not a Tutor, but the President, who is ordinarily the mouth of the College in their address to God; we answer, that this makes the difference not great; forasmuch as if the Tutors have any thing upon their hearts, which they desire their pupils should hear them offer up to God for them, they have frequent opportunities to present these desires of their souls to God in the hearing of their pupils, by the necessary absence of the President, upon one account or other, from morning or evening prayers; upon which occasions the Tutors supply his place by turns.

Your next reflection upon our College, is, that “Tutors don’t examine the hearts of their pupils.” What you intend by this, we are much at a loss to conceive. Indeed we are very sensible, that it is a great duty, which nearly concerns us all, to examine our own hearts with the utmost diligence and care. But that it is our duty ordinarily to examine the hearts of others, is not so clear. The Son of God, *who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire*, hath said, *Rev. ii. 23, All the Churches shall know, that I am He who searches the reins and heart*. Would you have Tutors invade his prerogative, and make the churches know that others beside the Son of God, may, and ought to undertake this scrutiny? Or, do you intend the expression in a Popish sense, and mean, that our Tutors neglect to bring their pupils before them to secret confession, as the Romish priests do by their people? If this be your meaning, speak out, Sir, and tell us plainly, that you think the Popish practice of auricular confession ought to be introduced in the College, that it may with more speed and ease be propagated through the country. Whenever you tell us in plain terms, we shall be at no loss for an answer. If you reply, that you meant nothing of all this, but only intended that the souls of the pupils are not taken care of, by those who have the government and instruction of them, that “Christ, or Christianity, is scarce so much as named among them,” which you say is the case of the Universities in England; and that the counsels and warnings of God are not set before them; we answer, that if this, and not something much worse, be what you meant by saying, “Tutors neglect to examine the hearts of their pupils,” it is a very injurious and false representation. And you might easily have known it to be so, upon much less than six days’ enquiry, if your ears had not been more open to evil reports, than to good ones. — Is not every exposition of the President, and every lecture of the Divinity Professor, an address to the Students upon the important points of our holy religion? Are not these all in some measure profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, or for instruction in righteousness? And is it not a distinguishing advantage to the youth of the College, which both they and their friends ought to be very thankful to God for, that they have the benefit of these four times a week, beside what they enjoy in common with other Christians, *viz.* The exercises of the Lord’s Day, and Lectures on other days out of the College? — And as for the Tutors, whom you particularly charge with neglect, if you mean, that they are generally so grossly negligent of their duty, with regard to taking proper opportunities

to talk seriously and closely with the pupils about their spiritual concerns, as does in any measure justify your reflections, they deny the charge and insist upon it, that it is a slander. — And, others of us can with truth assure you and the world, that besides discharging the more public duties of our stations, we have not been wanting to reprove, rebuke, exhort, or encourage and direct more privately, whenever we have had reason to think, that the case of any particular person has called for it.

You tell us next, “that Discipline is at too low an ebb.” — This is a reproach which we had little reason to expect at the time when you published it. We had not long before dropped one of our Tutors out of his place, for very corrupt and dangerous principles as soon as they came to be certainly known. And we had kept him out till he had given grounds for charity to hope, that he was come to a sounder mind. We had also expelled a Professor for immoral and scandalous practices. And can it be supposed, that a government, which upon just occasions, would not spare its own Officers, would at the same time wink at the faults of children? — We have since, for immorality, expelled another Tutor, who was also a Fellow of the House. And these acts of Discipline, we believe, will convince others, whatever you may think of them, that Discipline neither was, nor is at so low an ebb, as to deserve that we should be reproached publicly with the want of it. — But you say, “Bad books are become fashionable among them; Tillotson and Clarke are read, instead of Shepherd, Stoddard, and such like Evangelical writers.” — We make no doubt but that bad books were, and are, and always will be, too often read in a society of such numbers, where many are supplied with money enough by their parents to purchase a bad book, if their inclinations lead them to it. But the question is, whether bad books were then read with the approbation or knowledge of the Governors of the House? Now the surest way to find this, is to examine what books were then borrowed by the scholars out of the public Library; for other books they may easily conceal, if they please, from their Tutors. Now upon a particular enquiry into the Library records on this occasion, as the world hath been informed by our worthy friend Col. Brattle, in the Boston Gazette, June 22, 1741, it was found, with respect to the books which you call bad ones, that “from the 28th Nov. 1732, to that very day (for almost nine years) Tillotson had not been so much as once taken out of the Library by any Undergraduate; nor any of Dr. Clarke’s works for above two years; whereas Owen,

Baxter, Flavel, Bates, Howe, Doolittle, Willard, Watts, and Guyse (who be sure most of them may be reckoned Evangelical writers, as well as Shepherd and Stoddard) have some or other of them been borrowed by Undergraduates during this whole time ; and that they are scarcely ever in the Library ; and that these books have been more commonly borrowed by the Graduates, than Tillotson and Clarke. This account," says he " I have before me, attested by the Library-keeper, and desire the facts may be examined into by any one that doubts them." — We think we may leave it now to every unbiassed conscience to determine, whether the account you have given of the books read at College, was fair and just.

Wigglesworth's Letter to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, pp. 26-31.

NOTES.

NOTE A. (p. 2.) See Appendix, No. I.

NOTE B. (p. 2.) See Appendix No. VI.

NOTE C. (p. 4.)

On the anniversary of his decease, September 26th, 1828, at the expense of a considerable number of the graduates of the University, a solid obelisk of granite, fifteen feet in height, four feet square at the larger extremity and two at the smaller, with suitable inscriptions, was erected to Mr. Harvard, on the top of burying-hill in Charlestown (over the spot, where, according to tradition, his body was deposited), in the presence of a large company of spectators, officers, and students of the University, and citizens at large. The ceremonial was introduced by a prayer from the Rev. Mr. Walker of Charlestown; and the Hon. Edward Everett closed with an eloquent and interesting address. — See *Everett's Address, delivered at the Erection of a Monument to John Harvard*, and its *Appendix*. p. 17. Boston, 1828.

The Hon. Francis C. Gray informs me, that Mr. Harvard entered College in 1628 and took his master's degree in 1635. (*March 21, 1831.*)

NOTE D. (p. 6.)

"Mr. Corlet," says Dr. Holmes, "appears to have been a man of learning, of piety, and respectability. He was Master of the Grammar School in Cambridge, between 40 and 50 years." — *Hist. of Cambridge, in Mass. Hist. Coll.* VII. p. 22. First Series.

NOTE E. (p. 7.) See Appendix, No. I. p. 4].

NOTE F. (p. 8.) See Appendix, No. VI. p. 21].

NOTE G. (p. 8.) See Appendix, No. I. pp. 4], 7].

NOTE H. (p. 2, 7, 9.) See Appendix, No. I. p. 8].

NOTES I. J. (p. 9.) See Appendix, No. VIII. p. 36].

The following is an account of a subsequent Commencement, in 1685, from the MS. Diary of Chief Justice Sewall :

" Wednesday, July 1, [1685,] Commencement Day. Besides Disputes, there are four Orations, one Latin, by Mr. Dudley ; and two Greek ; one Hebrew, by Nath. Mather ; and Mr. President after giving y^e. Degrees made an Oration in Praise of Academical Studies and Degrees, Hebrew Tongue : Mr. Collins, Shepard, &c., Dep. Gov'r and Mr. Nowell absent, not return'd from keeping Court in the Province of Mayn. Gov'r there, whom I accompanied to Charlestown. After Dinner y^e 3d part of y^e 103d Ps. was sung in y^e Hall." — *MS. Diary of Judge Sewall.*

Under date of July 2, 1690, in the same Diary is the following entry, respecting the Commencement of that year : " Go to Cambridge by water in y^e Barge, wherein the Gov'r, Maj. Gen'l, Capt. Blackwell, Mr. Addington, Allen, Willard, and others. Had y^e Tide homeward. Thirty Commencers, besides Mr. Rogers, Sir Mather, and Mr. Emerson. Sir Mather in England, yet had a degree confer'd on him."

NOTE K. (p. 11.)

President Dunster was elected to his office by the *magistrates* and *ministers*, before the Act of 1642 was passed ; and he " now fully understood " that they had " no authority " for doing it : in addition to which, the government of the College was rendered more difficult by the provision in the Act of 1650, which required the consent of the Overseers to all the acts of the Corporation before they could have effect ; and this, probably, is what, among " such laws, orders, or injunctions in part already imposed on the place as be destructive thereto," he particularly alluded to in his resignation. It may be observed further, that, in consequence, probably, of his having received his appointment before the Corporation or Board of Overseers had been constituted, from a body that had no legal existence, he addressed his resignation to the General Court, who referred the subject to the Overseers, leaving it to them, in the words of the Order, " to make provision, in case he persist in his resolution more than one month, and inform the Overseers, for some meet person to carry an end that work for the present, and also to act in whatever necessity shall call for untill the next Session of this Court, when we shall be better enabled to

settle what will be needful in all respects with reference to the College" ; — a course of proceeding not very conformable, it should seem, to the laws which had been previously made, and were then in force.

To the honoured and worshipfull Mr. Richard Bellingham, Esqr. Governor, John Endicott, Esqr. Deputy-Governor, with the rest of the honoured Assistants and Deputyes in Generall Court at Boston assembled.

The petition of Henry Dunster in case of important and importunate exigencies humbly sheweth:

With all thankfulness acknowledging your forbearance to take advantage at his resignation of his place June the last past untill your humble petitioner might have conference with the honored and Reverend Overseers about the grievances him afflicting, by which your humble petitioner being enformed to some measure of satisfaction in submissive willingness reassumed his place and answerably ever since to his power dutifully demain'd himselfe therein untill the 24 of the 8th month last, when upon the prudent and peaceable motions of the said honored and Reverend Overseers for the publique weal of the Society, concurring with other reasons your humble petitioner thereunto induceing, he your said petitioner peaceably laid down and resign'd his place again the second time in such wise and manner as might be of best report and most inoffensive to all sides.

Therefore your humble petitioner submissively desireth that it may neither be thought, nor by any of your honored selves reported, that your said petitioner did cast off his place out of any froward morosity, foolish levity, or ingratefull despising either of the Court's forbearance or the Overseers' amicable conferences, for all the Honored and Reverend Overseers can beare witness to the contrary, and how this thing was transacted, composedly by their motives and arguments concurring with your humble petitioner's conceptions and acceptation.

Moreover it is your said petitioner's humble request that the honored Court would be pleased to take into their Christian consideration the grounds and reasons whereupon the late honored Committee for the College commended to your Court the equity of allowance to be made to your humble petitioner for his extraordinary labors in, about, and concerning the weal of the College over and beside his dayly employment in the education of youth for the space of these fourteen yeares last past, that your hum-

ble petitioner may be enabled thereby to discharge his debts in Old and New England.

And whereas your humble petitioner with singular industry thorow great difficultyes erected the house wherein for the present he dwelleth, it is his humble desire that he may peacably enjoy the same, untill all accounts due to him from ye Corporation be orderly and valuably to him your humble petitioner satisfied and pay'd.

And whereas your humble petitioner, being a free man of this Colony, doth not only by vertue of his oath, but also, from an innate love and affection, ever hath and still doth seek the weal and felicity thereof in all things according to his best light and with his whole person, property, and estate, and soe teacheth all his to doe that noe member of this Colony may be uselesse or unprofitable; therefore it is your petitioner's humble desire for his account's sake one day to be made to God of the talents to him betrusted, for the maintenance of his afflicted family (which the light of nature teacheth infidels), for the weal of this plantation which it is written in your servant's heart to promote; that therefore according to his education and abilities, without all impeachment, molestation, or discountenance from the authority of this Colony, he your said humble servant, walking piously and peacably, may seek further and vigorously prosecute the spiritual or temporall weal of the inhabitants thereof in preaching the Gospel of Christ, teaching or training up of youth, or in any other laudable or liberall calling as God shall chalk out his way, and when, where, and in what manner he shall find acceptance.

Lastly, whereas this honored Court the 3d of this present month voted a Committee to examine all accounts of your petitioner in reference to the estate of Mr. Joss Glover or what his last wife left, or which may concern the estate contended for, &c., your petitioner humbly conceiveth, prayeth, and hopeth that you will readily reverse that vote as requireing an impossibility at our hand: for how should your petitioner, unlesse a Joseph or a Daniel, give an account of a Gentleman's estate dead above 16 years' agoe, whom nor whose estate he never knew, neither ever was Legatee immediately, Executor, Administrator, or Assignee? nay who may justly say, that he never knew any estate was in law his, seeing there was noe Inventory at all annexed to his will though legally proved. Neither did the last deceased wife of your petitioner leave any estate (after debts discharged contracted in her life time) in this country save the lands at Cambridge with the buildings thereon, and a farme at

Sudbury, the title whereof your honor's Court according to the Record must determine ere that your petitioner can give any account thereof. And as for what may concern the estate contended for, by the 2 sonnes or any other, &c., your petitioner desireth humbly to be excused from such an infinite task, who yet is willing to give a faithfull and fatherly account and make satisfaction to the full content of the 2 children of the aforesaid Mr. Glover, that have not fully received their child's portion, viz. Mr. John Glover and Mrs. Priscilla Appleton, and to answer all sute and pleas that any other of the children shall for any estate in this country legally make, during your humble petitioner's life. Otherwise it is easily foreseen what endlesse vexations and tedious decisions both this honored Court, your humble petitioner and his posterity, may from generation to generation causlessly be put unto. The premises therefore being considered and answered, your humble petitioner shall as ever heretofore soe hereafter remain

Yours to his power in all things humbly to serve,

(Signed)

HENRIE DUNSTER.

4. 9^{ber.} 54.



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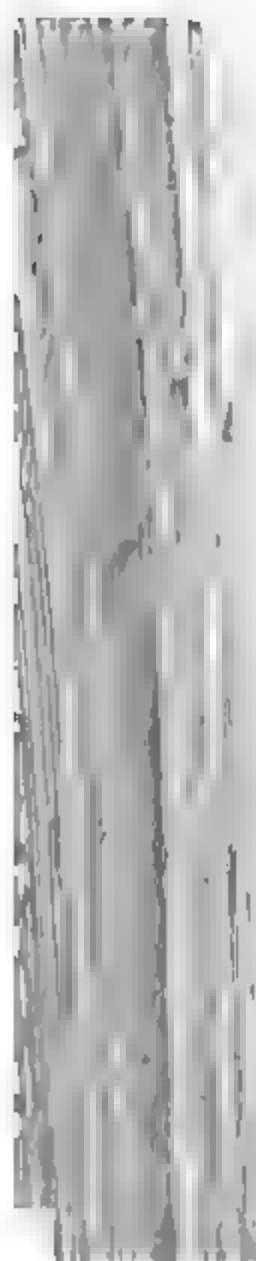
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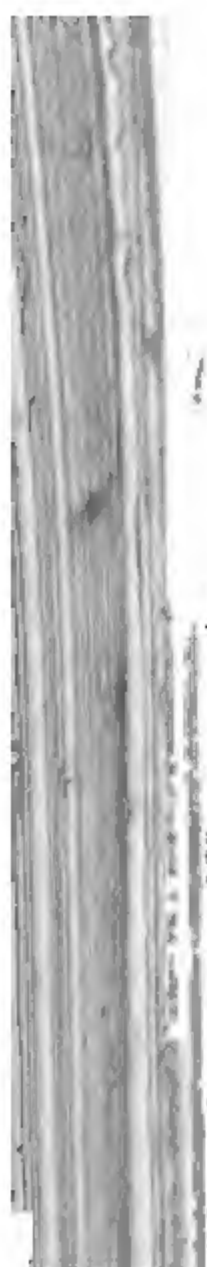
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